

# TIME

The storms keep  
getting stronger.  
**And so do we.**

**LEARNING  
FROM  
DISASTER**

by  
**JEFFREY KLUGER**  
and  
**HALEY SWEETLAND  
EDWARDS**

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2016 "MOST DEPENDABLE MIDSIZE CAR, COMPACT SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"**

The Chevrolet Sonic, Chevrolet Tahoe, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2017 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 35,186 U.S. original owners of 2014 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2016. The Chevrolet Malibu, Chevrolet Equinox, Chevrolet Silverado HD and Chevrolet Camaro received the highest numerical scores in their respective segments in the J.D. Power 2016 U.S. Vehicle Dependability Study, based on responses from 33,560 U.S. original owners of 2013 model-year vehicles after three years of ownership about problems experienced in the past 12 months, surveyed in October–December 2015. Your experiences may vary. Visit [jdpower.com](http://jdpower.com).



2017 TAHOE

2017 SONIC

2017 MALIBU



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▲ The flooded Sunrise Motel in East Naples, Fla., after Hurricane Irma hit on Sept. 11

Photograph by Mark Wilson—Getty Images

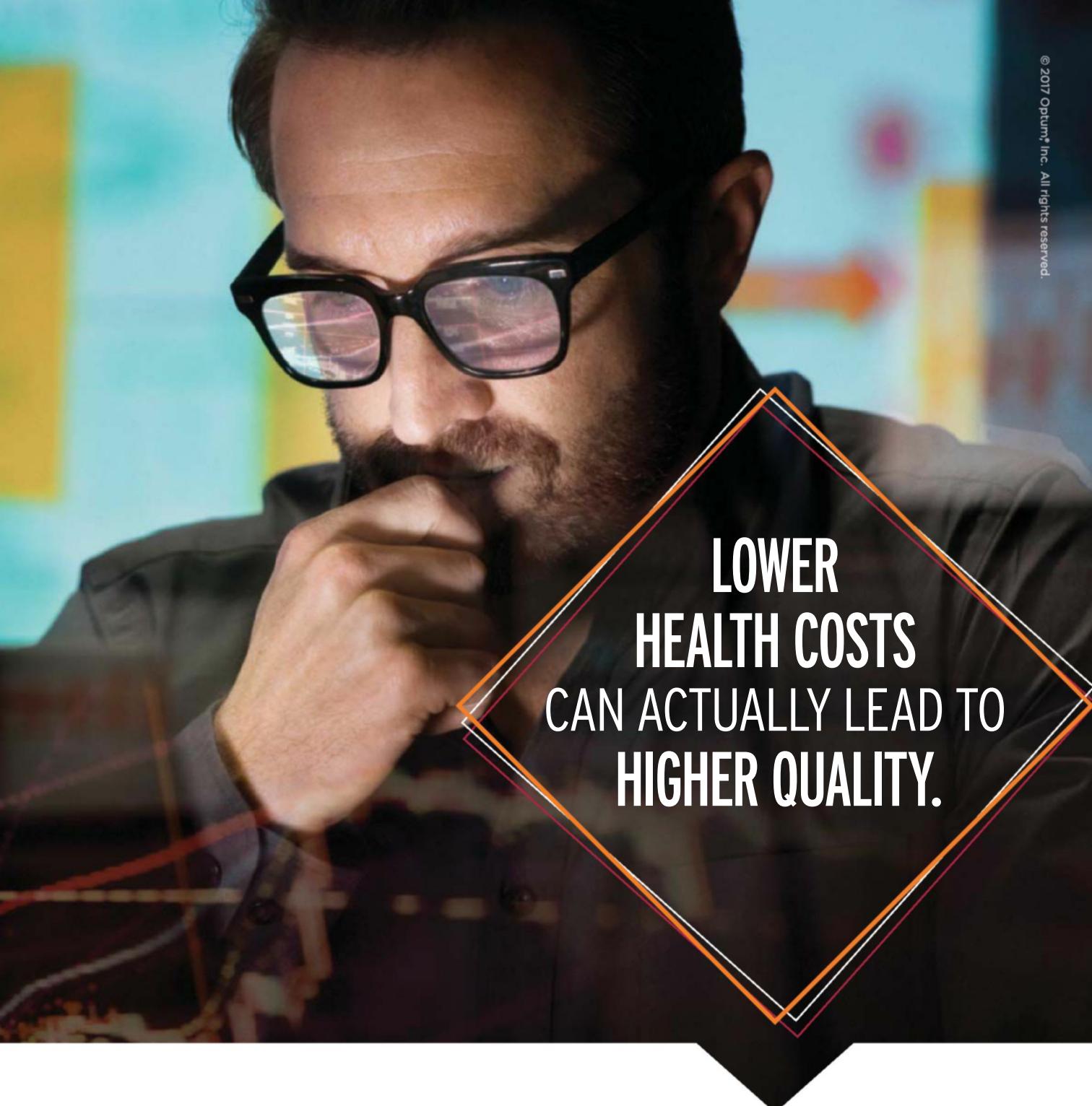
ON THE COVER:  
Satellite maps from NOAA show hurricanes Harvey (Aug. 25) and Irma (Sept. 10). Photo-illustration by Lon Tweeten for TIME

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## Her Time

EVERY PARAGRAPH MUST EARN ITS sentences, every sentence its words. To have worked with TIME editor-in-chief Nancy Gibbs is to have heard it a thousand times. But this is no mere maxim of economy. It reflects her values as a journalist, values Nancy practiced over the course of an incredible 32-year career at the magazine, including her promotion as its top editor in 2013. Roughly: Be rigorous, bring your passions to work but leave your agendas behind and, above all, be focused on serving your readers. Or, as she might more elegantly put it: Every word has consequences, every silence too.

On Sept. 12, Nancy told us, "It's time for another chapter," and said she planned to step down. So this space, normally reserved for TIME's editor-in-chief, has been hijacked by her staff to write a few inadequate words about her. Inadequate because Nancy's powers as a storyteller are unparalleled. Before becoming the first woman to lead the institution, she authored more cover stories for TIME than any other writer in its history. For millions of people, she told the living history of our nation and our world—comprehensively, compellingly and compassionately. She co-wrote, with TIME's Michael Duffy, two best-selling presidential histories and interviewed five American Presidents as well as dozens of world leaders.

**SHE SUCCESSFULLY ushered TIME** into a new media era, serving the needs of growing digital and mobile audiences as well as introducing the brand to new readers wherever they might be and however they might wish to access our journalism. Over the past four years, she presided over a doubling of TIME's audience and a reaffirmation of its relevance.

There are metrics, and then there are the measures that really matter: ideas, careers and friendships nurtured. Under Nancy, the latter were as innumerable as the former were bountiful. And in a time of dislocation, disruption and division, she strove to



*Gibbs at her second home, which is to say the White House; over the course of an exceptional career, she interviewed five American Presidents*

preserve a hallowed middle ground where actual conversations could take place and where ideas could live or die by their own merits. The role that TIME's journalism played in last year's presidential campaign and continues to play in the wake of the election illustrates both the difficulty and the vitality of that mission.

Nancy can never really leave TIME. She embodies its highest values, and transformed it with the intelligence, grace and wisdom of her leadership. (Not to mention that we plan to make her write many more cover stories.) But when she does take a well-deserved break, she will have left the vivid air around us signed with her honor. □

## Conversation



### EVENTS

## Celebrating *Firsts*

SYLVIA EARLE JUST WANTED TO BE A scientist, she told the crowd at TIME's celebration of the launch of *Firsts*, a multimedia project featuring 46 trailblazing women. But as the first woman to be chief scientist of the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, she was a pioneer.

Earle joined TIME editor-in-chief Nancy Gibbs, Kathryn Smith (the first female full-time NFL coach), Maya Lin (the first woman to design a National Mall memorial) and Carla Hayden (the first woman and first African American to be Librarian of Congress) in conversation. Patricia Bath (the first person to invent laserphaco cataract surgery) and Mo'ne Davis (the first girl to pitch a shutout in a Little League World Series) were also among the guests. "We will look to the day when we don't actually celebrate someone breaking the glass ceiling," Gibbs said. "We'll celebrate its disappearance." — SAMANTHA COONEY



Guests at TIME's celebration get an early look at the *Firsts* book

TIME editor-in-chief Nancy Gibbs discusses the project



Gibbs, far left, interviews, from left, Smith, Lin, Hayden, Earle

THE BOOK  
[shop.time.com](http://shop.time.com)

Find extended interviews and more portraits of the women who shattered glass ceilings in the *Firsts* book, available for preorder in the TIME Shop.



THE VIDEOS  
[time.com/firsts](http://time.com/firsts)

For more about the women who were the first in their field, watch video interviews with our subjects at the online home of *Firsts*.



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# 'THE SITUATION SEEMS A TEXTBOOK EXAMPLE OF ETHNIC CLEANSING.'

ZEID RA'AD AL-HUSSEIN, U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, accusing Myanmar authorities of intentionally driving out the more than 313,000 Rohingya Muslims who have fled to neighboring Bangladesh, in a keynote address before the U.N. Human Rights Council in Geneva

*'I was punched!'*

POPE FRANCIS, joking about his black eye, which he got when he lost his balance riding the Popemobile through Cartagena, Colombia, on Sept. 10

**'I LOVE HEARING HIS VOICE.'**

TIM COOK, Apple CEO, after kicking off the reveal of the iPhone 8 and iPhone X with an extended sound bite from Apple co-founder Steve Jobs

# \$1,130,000,000

Amount of revenue that music-licensing agency BMI collected as of the end of its fiscal year on June 30, representing the first time that the company has passed the \$1 billion mark in its nearly 78-year history; the company also distributed \$1.02 billion in royalties to artists, including Taylor Swift and Ed Sheeran



# 50,000

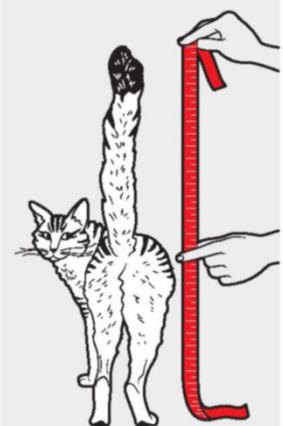
Potential number of employees Amazon might hire to work in its second headquarters in North America; interested cities have until Oct. 19 to submit a proposal

# 'You try to stay strong in public, but once inside, you break.'

DOMINGA TEJERA, janitor in Philipsburg, St. Martin, one of the thousands of Caribbean island residents whose homes were destroyed or severely damaged by Hurricane Irma

**'We need to be at that table.'**

CARA MUND, first Miss North Dakota to win the Miss America pageant, answering a question onstage about whether President Trump was wrong to withdraw the U.S. from the Paris climate accord



**1 ft.  
5.5 in.**

Length of the tail of a gray Maine coon cat from Ferndale, Mich., named Cygnus, setting a world record for longest tail on a domestic cat, according to the new edition of the Guinness World Records book

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# The Brief

'IT IS THE FIRST TIME ANY COURT HAS OVERTURNED A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OUTCOME IN AFRICA.' —PAGE 14

## POLITICS

### Why Stephen Bannon doesn't scare Washington anymore

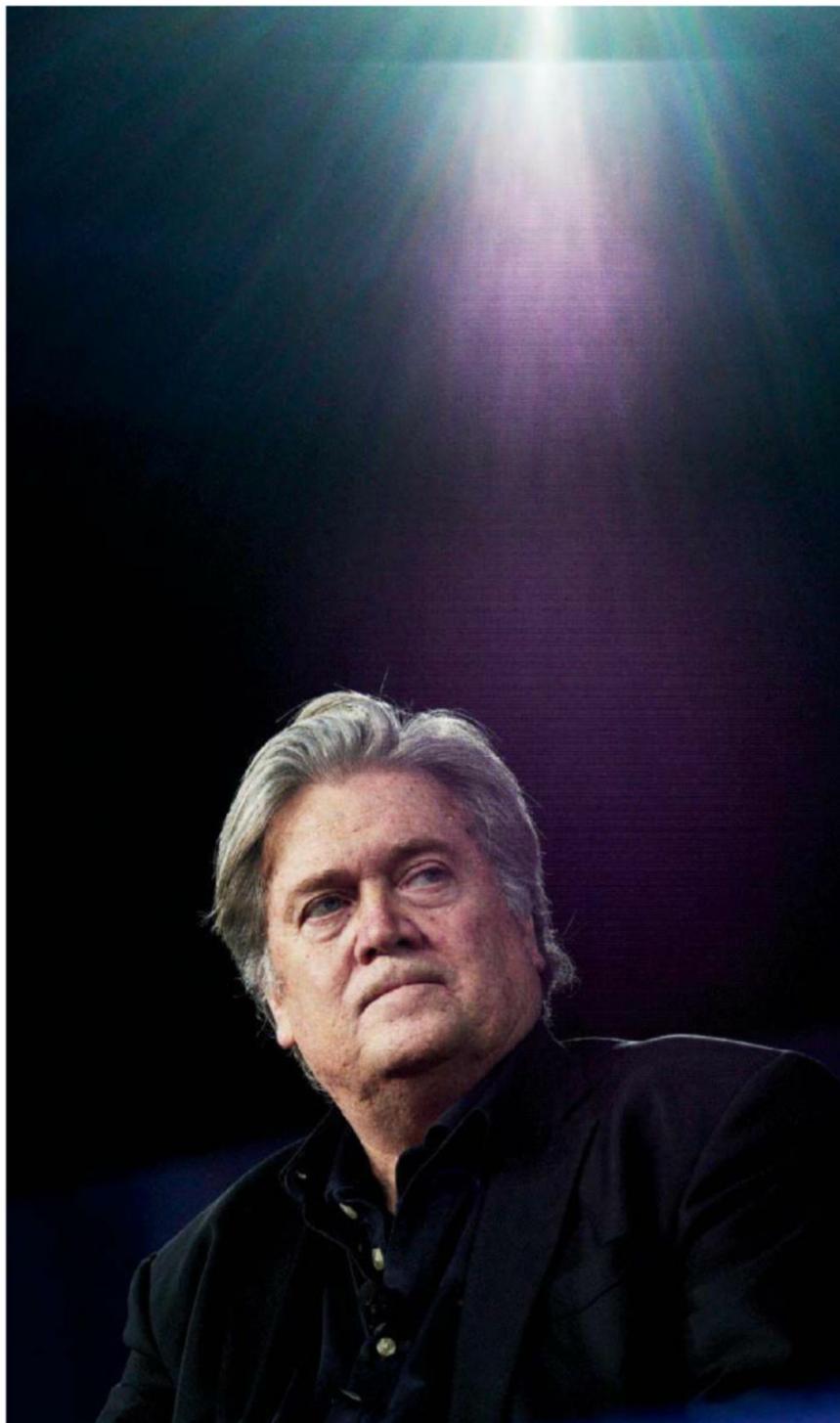
By Alex Altman

FOR A MEDIA BARON WHO TRAF- ficks in bombast, Stephen Bannon has always seemed more comfortable backstage. As Donald Trump's campaign CEO and then as his chief White House strategist, he liked to work in the shadows, always felt but seldom heard. Bannon fancied himself the battlefield general for the Trump agenda, the ruthless commander of a right-wing army that made liberals recoil and Republicans quiver. When he was caricatured as an all-powerful evil force in the White House, he didn't exactly discourage the misperception.

But since leaving the White House last month, Bannon has sought the spotlight in new ways. In his first-ever major television interview, which aired Sept. 10 on *60 Minutes*, the pugnacious boss of Breitbart News told Charlie Rose that he was eager to take the fight to Trump's enemies. "I'm a street fighter," he declared. "I'm going to be his wingman outside."

Liberated from his White House shackles, Bannon threw punches in every direction: at the "pearl-clutching" media, at Hillary Clinton ("Not very bright"), at Bush-era big-wigs ("I hold these people in contempt") and disloyal Trump advisers ("If you don't like what he's doing," Bannon said, "you have an obligation to resign").

But it was his threats against Republican members of Congress that drew much of the attention. "They're going to be held accountable if they



Bannon speaks to supporters in February at the Conservative Political Action Conference outside Washington

do not support the President of the United States," Bannon promised. People close to Bannon are spreading word that he is preparing to launch primary challengers against a slate of Republican Senate incumbents, including frequent Trump critics like Arizona's Jeff Flake, vulnerable swing-state Senators like Nevada's Dean Heller and even Tennessee's Bob Corker, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

With Breitbart's megaphone and Robert Mercer's money, Bannon has the power to cause headaches for the GOP. In a year when Republicans should be on offense in Senate contests—they are defending a mere eight seats, mostly in red states, compared with the Democrats' 25—a slew of populist primary challenges would drain the party's coffers and force Senate boss Mitch McConnell to defend his colleagues instead of battling the Democrats. McConnell has committed to protecting incumbent Republicans against upstart challengers, even if it costs precious cash. Spending money on defense could limit Republicans' ability to dump dollars into races where they hope to pick up seats, such as the Senate contests in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. And primaries can dampen party morale, discouraging voters who favored a vanquished challenger.

And yet Bannon's boasts ring a bit hollow. For starters, Breitbart doesn't pack the punch it once did. Traffic is down, according to some media metrics. (Breitbart disputes those reports.) Advertisers have fled amid organized boycotts. The site, suffering from a string of outrageous stories and inflammatory remarks by far-right staffers, has struggled to adapt its outsider, guerrilla tactics to the Trump presidency and unified Republican control of Washington. Now that Bannon has broken cover, he doesn't seem quite as menacing. Most important, Republican leaders have shown that Bannon and his ilk can be beaten. Over the last three election cycles, mainstream Republicans, buoyed by their own big donors, have regularly trounced Tea Party-style insurgents in GOP primaries. In 2014 and '16, McConnell and his allies went to war with the Bannonites often—and won almost every time. In one race Breitbart hyped, the website waged war against House Speaker Paul Ryan, writing a steady stream of negative stories—more than 30 in a single week—to boost an obscure primary challenger named Paul Nehlen. In the end Nehlen still lost by 68 points.

Even at the White House, Bannon's act has worn thin. "Steve always likes to speak in kind of the most extreme measures," press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders said. Which helps explain why, for the most part, Republican insiders shrugged off Bannon's bombast. By now they know his power never quite lives up to his myth. —With reporting by PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON



### TICKER

#### No charges in Freddie Gray case

Citing "insufficient evidence," the Department of Justice said it will not bring charges against six Baltimore police officers involved in the fatal injury of Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old African American whose death sparked citywide protests.

#### U.N. steps up North Korea sanctions

The U.N. Security Council unanimously stepped up sanctions against North Korea following the country's sixth nuclear test. The fresh sanctions restrict oil imports and ban textile exports.

#### States sue Trump over ending DACA

California, Minnesota, Maryland and Maine sued the Trump Administration over its decision to end DACA, a program that protected undocumented people brought to the U.S. as children. The suit claims that the President violated the Constitution and other laws when he rescinded the program.

#### 'Monkey selfie' legal fight settled

Photographer David Slater settled a two-year legal fight over the copyright to a selfie taken by a monkey using his camera. Animal-rights group PETA sued for royalties on the monkey's behalf. Slater agreed to donate 25% of future revenue from the images to charity.

### NATURE

## Back to the wild

Wild tigers are being reintroduced in Kazakhstan, 70 years after they became extinct there because of habitat loss and poaching. The WWF-supported project, which involves the restoration of a forest, is the latest in a series of wild releases. —Kate Samuelson

### ORYX IN CHAD

In August, Abu Dhabi's Environmental Agency released 54 captivity-bred scimitar-horned oryx into the wild on the edge of the Sahara desert in Chad. The species of antelope was driven to extinction in the Central African country following civil unrest in the 1980s.



### SNAKES IN THE U.S.

Twelve threatened eastern indigo snakes, the longest snake native to the U.S., which can grow up to 9 ft., were reintroduced to northern Florida in July by a coalition of local conservation groups. They hope to release indigo snakes into the wild every year for a decade.

### BEAVERS IN THE U.K.

Beavers from Norway were released in Scotland's lochs and rivers in 2009, almost 400 years after being hunted to extinction in the U.K. The rodents have since created new wetlands and helped regulate flooding, and were given official native-species status in Scotland in '16.



### DIGITS

## \$8 million

The amount Patty Jenkins is reportedly to be paid to write, direct and produce the 2019 sequel to *Wonder Woman*; the sum would make her the highest paid female director in history





**MEXICO MOURNS** A wake is held in Juchitán de Zaragoza, Mexico, on Sept. 9 for Juan Jiménez, a municipal police officer killed in a building collapse during an 8.1-magnitude earthquake two days earlier. The death toll in Mexico's strongest quake in a century had risen to 96 by Sept. 11. Residents of the badly hit state of Oaxaca are now working to rebuild their homes and lives. *Photograph by Brett Gundlock—The New York Times/Redux*

## WORLD

### The referendum vote that could fracture Iraq

IRAQ'S NORTHERN KURDISH REGION IS SET TO hold a vote on independence on Sept. 25, giving hope to nearly 30 million Kurds in Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey who aspire to self-determination. But the central government opposes the referendum, putting it on a collision course with an ever more powerful separatist movement:

**DRAWING LINES** The vote represents a challenge to Baghdad by Iraqi Kurdistan's regional government over control of areas claimed by both sides. At the center of the dispute is Kirkuk, home to a million Arabs, Kurds and Turkomans,



advancing ISIS forces in 2014.

**SPILLOVER THREAT** Major powers in the region also oppose the referendum. Neighboring states like Turkey and Iran worry that the vote could galvanize Kurdish separatists within their own borders. A yes vote might provide a model for other Kurds seeking autonomy across the region—such as in Syria, where U.S.-backed Kurdish militias already enjoy de facto control over much

The U.S. is also

the referendum will tear apart key allies in the coalition fighting ISIS, just as the militant group is on the brink of defeat as a conventional army. The Kurdish public is widely expected to vote for independence, but there is no

## DATA

### WHERE AMERICANS GET THEIR #NEWS

Two-thirds (67%) of Americans get at least some of their news on social media, according to a new Pew survey, rising to 78% of those under the age of 50. Here, the percentages of U.S. adults who say they get their news from each major social-media platform:



45%  
Facebook



18%  
YouTube



11%  
Twitter



7%  
Instagram



5%  
Snapchat

—JARED MALSIN

**TICKER****Court restores Trump travel ban**

The Supreme Court allowed the Trump Administration to continue to bar most refugees from six majority-Muslim countries from entering the U.S., blocking a lower-court ruling that would have limited the travel ban's scope.

**Macron's reforms spark unrest**

Thousands of protesters took to the streets across France on Sept. 12 to protest President Emmanuel Macron's changes to labor laws that would provide businesses with more flexibility to hire and fire employees. Macron was in the Caribbean assessing Hurricane Irma damage when the protests occurred.

**A female President for Singapore**

Halimah Yacob was named Singapore's first female President. Controversially, no election took place, since the former Parliament Speaker was the only candidate the government deemed eligible for the largely ceremonial role.

**Philippines grants \$20 for human rights**

Philippine lawmakers slashed the budget of its Commission on Human Rights from \$14.6 million to just \$20. President Rodrigo Duterte has been accused of permitting human-rights abuses in a bloody war on drugs.

**THE RISK REPORT****The saga of Kenya's disputed election is a good-news story****By Ian Bremmer**

THE RESULTS OF ANY NATIONAL ELECTION tell us something important about the country in question. Beyond who won and who voted, we also learn whether the country's institutions have earned the public's trust.

Take Kenya, for example, East Africa's promising power. A decade ago, ethnic violence triggered by a disputed Kenyan election killed an estimated 1,400 people. That conflict centered mainly on rivalries between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin, two of Kenya's largest ethnic groups, particularly in the Rift Valley region north of Nairobi, where the two groups live side by side. In 2013 the Kikuyu and Kalenjin struck a deal to avoid a repeat of that bloodshed, and a national election that year came off without similar violence.

In August, Kenya held another presidential election. The incumbent, Uhuru Kenyatta, was declared the winner with 54% of the vote. His main challenger and longtime rival, Raila Odinga, claimed the results were hacked and altered, but observers from the U.S., the E.U. and the African Union declared the vote free and fair. Kenya's election commission certified it.

Then Kenya's Supreme Court pulled a shocker. On Sept. 1 it ruled that the election didn't conform to the constitution and has to be rerun. The court is due to publish a report that details the reasoning behind its finding by

Sept. 22, and the election commission has set the rerun for Oct. 17. Odinga has threatened to boycott the second vote unless he gets "legal and constitutional guarantees" of a fair election, but the 72-year-old is unlikely to skip what might be his last chance to become President, on the fourth time trying.

Despite the anxiety this episode has generated and the nearly \$117 million cost of a rerun, this is a good-news story. It is the first time any court has overturned a presidential election outcome in Africa, and the result has been confusion but not chaos.

**This year is likely to be remembered as an important step forward for Kenya and its democracy**

The deal between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin continues to hold, and Kenyans have shown that the courts can challenge the will of a President and still carry the day. This is another step in the political maturity of a dynamic emerging-market democracy.

It is far from the last step, though. The transition from "rule of men" to "rule of law" takes time. The graft scandal in Brazil, halfway around the world, offers an instructive example of how the institutions of government have to beat back corruption and impunity one case at a time. But on a continent where ethnic violence, spectacular corruption, farcical elections, and the indiscriminate use of force in service of power are still endemic in places, 2017 is likely to be remembered as an important step forward for Kenya and its democracy. □

**LABELS****'Plus size' goes out of fashion**

Kmart has rebranded its "plus size" label as "fabulously sized," in an effort to create a more body-positive atmosphere. It's just the latest sign that the problematic term is no longer on trend.

**—Kate Samuelson****MODCLOTH**

In 2015 the online fashion retailer removed the "plus size" section from its website and grouped its XL and regular sizes together. "Plus is not a term that we love," said co-founder Susan Gregg Koger.

**COSABELLA**

The luxury lingerie brand Cosabella dropped the word *plus* in descriptions of its larger sizes and replaced it with *extended* when rolling out its new collection in 2015.

**HEY GORGEOUS**

The New York digital boutique was known as Madison Plus Select before undertaking an official name change in May 2016. The company saw an initial boost after the rebrand but folded later that year.

## Milestones

### DIED

French fashion tycoon **Pierre Bergé**, who helped his partner Yves Saint Laurent build his couture house into an empire, at 86.

► **Peter Hall**, titan of British theater who at 29 founded the Royal Shakespeare Company, at 86.

► Composer and lyricist **Michael Friedman**, whose work includes the 2008 rock musical *Bloody Bloody Andrew Jackson*, at 41.

### PLUNGED

The **Cassini spacecraft**, toward Saturn's atmosphere, after orbiting the ringed planet since 2004. The probe's final encounter with Titan, Saturn's largest moon, bent its trajectory and put it on course to hurtle into Saturn on Sept. 15.

### RESIGNED

Seattle Mayor **Ed Murray**, after a fifth man accused him of sexual abuse dating to the 1970s. Murray, who in 2013 became the city's first openly gay mayor, has denied all allegations.

### NAMED

Longtime Trump aide **Hope Hicks**, as permanent White House communications director.



### DIED

## Edith Windsor LGBT icon

EDITH WINDSOR, WHO DIED ON SEPT. 12 AT 88, WASN'T seeking sweeping social change at first—just fairness. Her claim to the estate of Thea Spyer, her late wife, was taxed thanks to the Defense of Marriage Act, which forbade federal recognition of same-sex unions. (With gay marriage widely unavailable stateside, the pair had been married in Canada in 2007.) But as Windsor's case moved to the Supreme Court—where, in a 2013 decision, the act was struck down—the sweetly blunt widow from Greenwich Village became the captivating face of a national revolution.

*U.S. v. Windsor* had immediate impact—allowing gay couples many benefits of marriage—and resounded in the years to come. Two years after *Windsor*, the Supreme Court made same-sex marriage the law of the land. But the woman whose love for her late wife had altered the course of history found herself changed by the case too; while she'd been guarded for decades, the octogenarian told TIME after her case was decided that "I can't be more out." Openness suited Windsor, who celebrated the news of her ruling with a joyful speech at the gay-rights landmark Stonewall Inn bar. "If I had to survive Thea, what a glorious way to do it," she told the crowd. "She would be so pleased." Just last year Windsor remarried. The ceremony was in New York City.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

### DIED

## Kate Millett 'High priestess' of women's liberation

WHEN KATE MILLETT'S book *Sexual Politics* was published in 1970, its author, who died on Sept. 6 at 82, revolutionized a revolution. She showed feminism's adherents and opponents alike that they were dealing with a movement in every sense of the word, complete with its own theory and philosophy. TIME would call her the "high priestess" of women's lib—and her book its bible.

The success of *Sexual Politics* thrust Millett into an unsought limelight and subjected her (and her sexuality) to scathing criticism. That fame, as well as its later ebbs and flows, could be seen as an unexpected turn in the life of a woman who had been a sculptor and scholar. And yet it was also the culmination of a journey that began, she would later recall, when Millett saw the look on her father's face after her little sister was born. Written there was the story of a whole world that would rather have a son. Millett showed women around the world how to see such experiences as part of the patriarchy's long history—and in doing so ensured her own place in that history's rebellious next chapter. —LILY ROTHMAN





**SPORTS**

## The year's last Grand Slam ushers in a new tennis era

THE BEST MOMENTS IN SPORTS come when the script gets thrown out. After vanquishing fellow American Madison Keys in the U.S. Open final on Sept. 9, Sloane Stephens shared an emotional, extended hug with her longtime pal at the net. When an official handed Stephens the \$3.7 million winner's check, she reacted with giddy disbelief. And when she learned she had made just six unforced errors in her straight-sets win, Stephens replied, "Shut the front door."

And why not? Stephens, recovering from a foot injury and ranked 957th in the world in July, won her first Grand Slam in a tournament that may come to be seen as a coming-out party for the next generation of U.S. women. With Serena Williams on maternity leave, Stephens, Keys, CoCo Vandeweghe and a resurgent Venus Williams made it an all-American final four.

On the men's side, however, European royalty still ruled. Rafael Nadal won the Open for his 16th career Slam, giving him and fellow lion Roger Federer a clean sweep of this year's majors. A historic feat, no doubt. But it's the story of Stephens, 24, that's just now unfolding. Does winning one Slam increase her hunger for another? "Of course, girl," a beaming Stephens said. "Did you see that check that lady handed me?"

—SEAN GREGORY

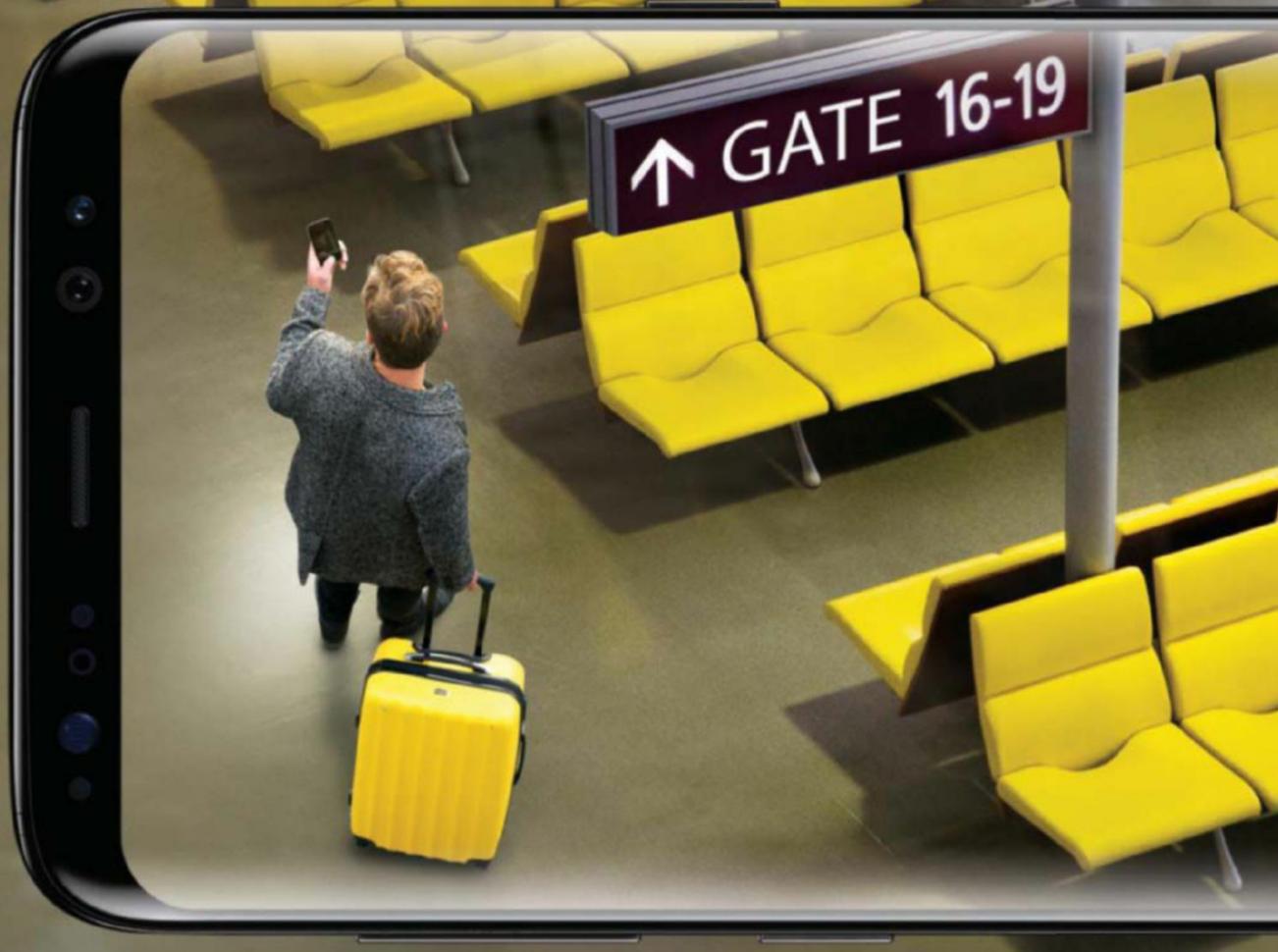
*Stephens celebrates her win against Keys in New York City on Sept. 9*

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEWEL SAMAD—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

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# Mobile security made for the way people really work.

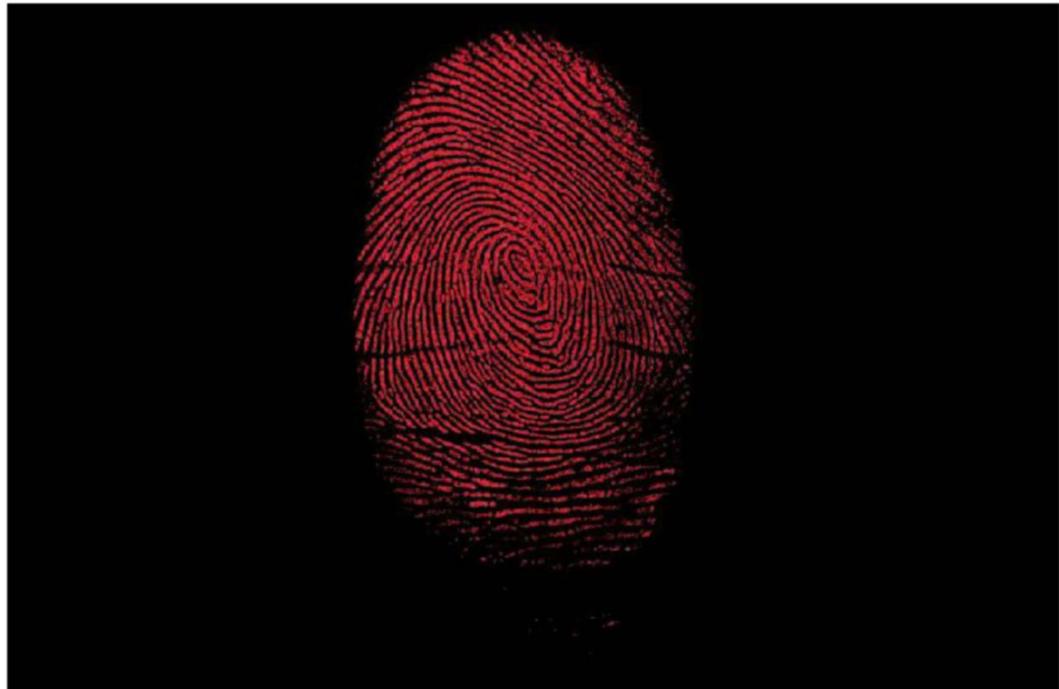
Humans will be humans. Naturally they'll send last minute emails from unsecure airport wifi. But don't worry. We've built mobile security from the chip up, now trusted by 30 governments worldwide, to make things easier for you. Because why attempt to change your employees' behavior, when you can simply change their mobile security?

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# TheView

"THE FIRST HURRICANE GIVEN A MALE NAME WAS "BOB," WHICH HIT THE GULF COAST ON JULY 11, 1979." —PAGE 23



*Biometric authentication is being billed as a better, safer alternative to passwords and pass codes*

## TECHNOLOGY

### Equifax and the perils of password protection

By Lisa Eadicicco

IN THE U.S., IT'S ALMOST COMICALLY easy to hack someone's life. All you need are a few numbers to access most smartphones, a string of characters to access most email accounts and a handful of biographical details to steal most identities.

And so when news broke Sept. 7 that Equifax, one of America's largest credit-rating agencies, had been compromised, exposing data from as many as 143 million accounts, people were rightfully concerned. The hack wasn't as large as other high-profile incidents, like the ones at Yahoo and MySpace, which jeopardized an estimated 500 million and 360 million user accounts, respectively. But it's a likely gold mine for identity thieves, especially considering the type of information that was exposed—not just names and ad-

dresses, but also Social Security, credit card and driver's license numbers. That's more than enough to open a credit card in someone's name, take out a loan, and more. (Equifax, which is now facing more than 30 new lawsuits in the U.S., did not respond to multiple requests for comment.)

There are ways to prevent these calamities. One way, of course, is for companies to do a better job securing users' information so it doesn't get hacked in the first place. But the bigger issue, say industry experts, is that the information we use to establish and verify our identities—passwords, pass codes, biographical details—is simply too easy to steal. And solving that problem requires overhauling the way we think about proving who we are, both online and in real life.

Enter biometric authentication, or using a person's physical traits—such as a fingerprint, a face or an iris—to double-check his or her identity. In recent years, this method has popped up on a variety of platforms, including smartphones (you can "unlock" the newest iPhones and Samsung Galaxies using your face); mobile-banking apps (Citibank and Bank of America both allow you to log in to your account using a fingerprint); and even airport-security checkpoints (the TSA is testing fingerprint scanners at two U.S. airports). The main selling point: it's a lot harder for people to steal your identity if they have to physically recreate it. "Anyone can look at you and see how tall you are," says Jim Sullivan, a senior executive at the biometric firm BIO-key. "But they can't look at you and be that tall just by knowing that information."

That said, hackers have always found ways to circumvent new security standards, and biometrics are no exception. Researchers have demonstrated that it's possible to digitally compose a fake fingerprint. And a recent test of the Galaxy Note 8's iris scanner indicated the sensor could be fooled by holding a photo up to the phone's front-facing camera. But there are ways to fight back—such as augmenting the fingerprint sensors to test for "liveliness," like blood flow. And even with its risks, biometrics are still far more secure than passwords and pass codes.

Yet it will be tough for biometric verification to make the jump from technology premium to government standard, especially in America. In order to create any kind of biometric-backed ID system, the government would have to collect and store biometric data on every U.S. citizen—a process that's costly and complicated, and would face major regulatory issues. And even if it succeeds, it could have unforeseen consequences. Consider India's Aadhaar program, which has now enrolled more than 90% of the country's population into a biometric database. Although the system has dramatically cut down on fraud, critics argue it may prevent some citizens from accessing government benefits. "We are building a system that will decide whether a child will eat or not ... based on [the] quality of Internet connectivity and cleanliness of the child's thumbprint," Sumandro Chattapadhyay, research director at India's Center for Internet and Society, told the *Guardian* earlier this year.

In the U.S. the biggest hurdle may be complacency: we've all gotten comfortable with text- and number-based identity verification. And when there are large breaches, like the one at Equifax, the hijacked data is often sold to other hackers for later use—meaning the consequences aren't always felt right away. "The system is broken," says Avivah Litan, a security analyst at Garter. "But the pains just aren't great enough yet." □

**VERBATIM**  
**'Elections  
cannot  
guarantee  
democratic  
governance.  
This will be  
even more  
true as digital  
technology  
advances.'**

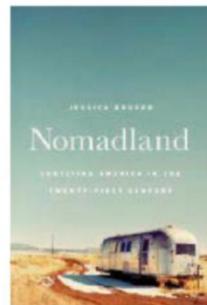
**JIMMY CARTER**,  
former U.S. President,  
arguing in the *New York  
Times* that elections  
need to be better  
safeguarded against  
digital threats



### BOOK IN BRIEF

## America's newest, oldest nomads

IN THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN Dream, retirement is supposed to be synonymous with leisure. Not so for the tens of thousands of Americans whose safety nets were decimated after the 2008 recession; in order to find work, many of them are leaving their homes and hitting the road in RVs, trailers and other makeshift mobile dwellings. Journalist Jessica Bruder profiles this cohort in her new book *Nomadland: Surviving America in the Twenty-First Century*. In many ways, she explains, their existence resembles those who fled the Dust Bowl in the Great Depression. To make ends meet, these formerly middle-class senior citizens take seasonal jobs as sugar-beet harvester, Amazon warehouse workers and campground maintenance employees, moving on whenever a job dries up. "There is hope on the road," Bruder writes. Of course, hope alone can't trump the realities of aging. As these nomads get older, they remain in search of a more sustainable solution. —SARAH BEGLEY



### CHARTOON

## Renaissance artist or coffee?



Because ordering a dead  
painter is embarrassing.

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ARTIST	COFFEE	ARTIST	COFFEE
MACCHIATO		AFFOGATO	
VERROCCHIO		CARAJILLO	
CORTADO		PISANELLO	
RISTRETTO		GALÃO	
MASACCIO		TINTORETTO	

COFFEE: MACCHIATO • CORTADO • RISTRETTO • AFFOGATO • CARAJILLO • GALÃO  
RENAISSANCE ARTIST: VERROCCHIO • MASACCIO • PISANELLO • TINTORETTO



ANSWER

JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

**SNAPSHOT**

## A Star Wars–inspired observatory

One way to get people excited about astronomy? Make your stargazing venue look like a spaceship. That's the thinking behind the Troodos Observatory (rendered below), a soon-to-be-built structure in Limassol, Cyprus, that will house two main telescopes and a public roof terrace. Its architects, siblings Elena and Nicodemos Tsolakis, grew up watching *Star Wars* and say they drew design inspiration from Star Cruisers and Sandcrawlers. When the observatory opens in 2019, it will be Cyprus' first purpose-built space research center. The information scientists gather there may prove valuable around the world: the plan is to share research with NASA and boost its access to Mediterranean data. —Julia Zorthian

**HISTORY**

## The fight to change how hurricanes are named

THE EFFECTS OF HURRICANES LIKE HARVEY and Irma are hard to imagine before they strike. But one thing is certain in advance: their names, taken from the World Meteorological Organization's rotating lists of alphabetically organized male and female monikers. That system is relatively new, however—and it took years of feminist advocacy to get there.

Between the 1940s and '70s, U.S. meteorologists—who the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration says were inspired by a novel in which a meteorologist names storms after ex-girlfriends—gave traditionally female names to all hurricanes. The idea was that names made storms easier to remember, which they did. But the side effect was decades' worth of puns about women being unpredictable and destructive.

In 1972, with the women's movement in

full force, National Organization for Women vice president Roxcy Bolton argued in a letter to the National Hurricane Center that the practice "reflects and creates an extremely derogatory attitude toward women." Officials initially dismissed her. But in 1978, NOAA administrator Richard A. Frank, citing pressure from Bolton and NOW, announced that hurricane names would start alternating gender. The first given a male name was "Bob," which hit the Gulf Coast on July 11, 1979.

But gender biases still persist, albeit in more subtle ways: a 2014 study found that people are less likely to prepare for hurricanes with women's names because they don't seem as threatening—which, ironically, has made those storms more deadly. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

► For more on these stories, visit [time.com/history](http://time.com/history)

**DATA**

### THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

#### BEING DUMPED FOR ANOTHER PERSON REALLY DOES HURT MORE

Research in *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* including over 500 participants who were interviewed about their experiences with rejection found that people reported feeling worse in scenarios like dating or a job search when they were passed over for another person vs. other reasons.

2

#### DIET MAY TREAT ACID REFLUX AS WELL AS DRUGS

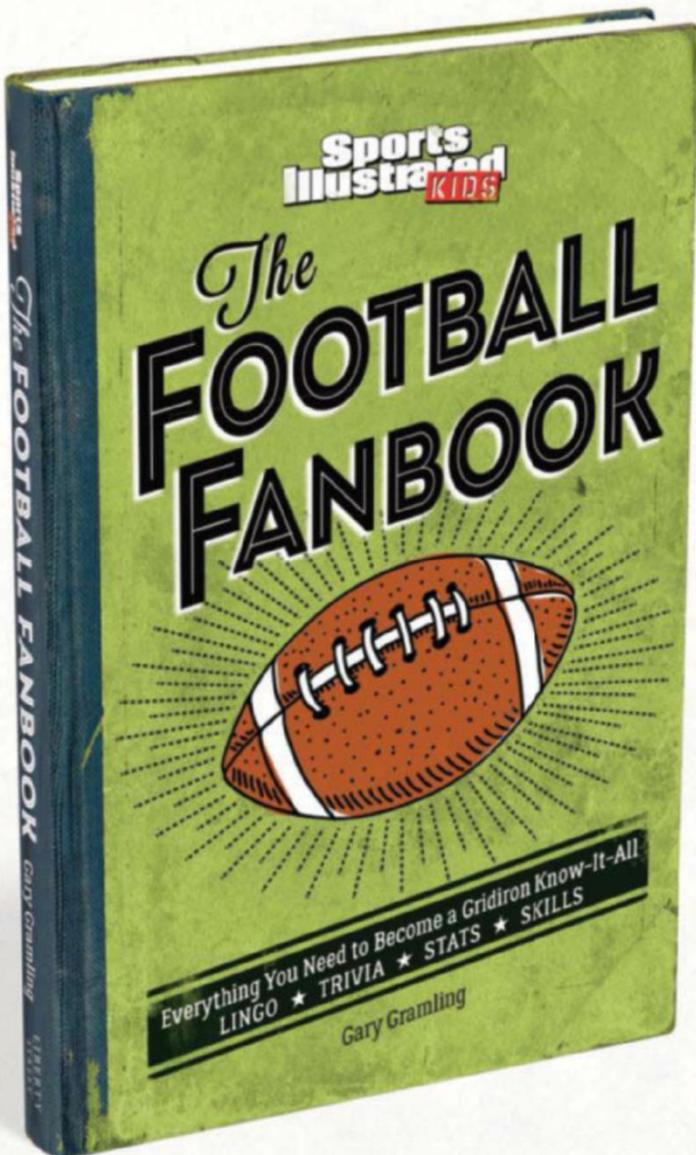
A study in *JAMA Otolaryngology—Head & Neck Surgery* found that a eating a Mediterranean diet with alkaline water was just as effective as proton-pump inhibitors, the strongest form of acid-reflux medicine, in alleviating symptoms for a type of reflux that affects the upper throat.

3

#### WALKING YOUR DOG CAN MAKE YOU HAPPIER, TOO

Research in the *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* found people are motivated to walk their dogs when they believe it makes their pets happy, which in turn makes the owners happy. —J.Z.

# TAKE YOUR PASSION FOR THE GAME TO THE NEXT LEVEL



**“You’ll be a smarter  
fan after reading this.  
I wish I had this book  
when I was a kid.”**

—Peter King, *Editor-in-chief,  
The MMQB*

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**“A mini football  
encyclopedia ...  
packed with updated  
stats and tidbits that  
you may not have  
known.”**

—*Youth Football Online*

AVAILABLE WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD

## Why marriage is harder than ever—and maybe better too

By Belinda Luscombe

FORGET WILL AND KATE. FORGET GEORGE AND AMAL. AND forget, even, Barack and Michelle. The ideal modern marriage is the one between Hungarian swimmer Katinka Hosszu and her American husband Shane Tusup.

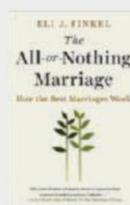
Did their epic love story slip by you? Until 2012, Hosszu was a talented but unremarkable swimmer. After the London Olympics, in which she entered four races but won no medals, she asked her then boyfriend Tusup to take over as her coach. The volatile Tusup worked Hosszu much harder, pushing her to enter more races and to lift more weights, and often got visibly angry poolside at meets if she did not win. “We agreed that the goal was never to settle for O.K.,” Tusup said about their relationship. “We’re going to keep pushing, even if we don’t get it, to be great, to be amazing, to be legendary.”

In the 2016 Olympics, in Rio de Janeiro, Hosszu entered five events and won four medals, three of them gold. She’s the first swimmer ever to reach \$1 million in race winnings. Her nickname, the Iron Lady, is now used for a brand of apparel.

The Hosszu-Tusup union is an extreme version of what people now expect from marriage, according to Northwestern University professor Eli Finkel. He’s the latest in a spate of authors to try to figure out what our most intimate institution has become now that it’s no longer a precondition for becoming a grownup, getting it on, ensuring economic security or having kids. In his new book, *The All-or-Nothing Marriage*, Finkel argues that 21st century spouses seek partners who will bring out their best, most authentic selves, who can spot potential in their mates and find, Michelangelo-like, the beautiful sculpture within the block of stone.

That does not mean today’s spouse is absolved from the conjugal responsibilities of yore. We still want security. We still want a passionate lover. We still want higher-order parenting skills. Those come standard. “We continue to view our marriage as a central locus of love and passion and we continue to view our home as a haven in a heartless world, but ... a marriage that achieves those things without also promoting self-expression is insufficient,” writes Finkel.

**ALL-OR-NOTHING**, which draws on sages as disparate as Viktor Frankl and Carrie Bradshaw—as well as Finkel’s considerable years of research—likens the history of marriage to the ascent of a Maslow-like mountain of needs and desires. At base camp are economic and physical safety, thought to be the prehistoric drivers of our desire to pair up. At the peak are self-expression and personal growth. The problem is that as we have moved higher up the mountain, the air has become thinner and couples have



### UNEQUAL DIVORCE

20%

Rise overall from the 1980s to the 2000s in the number of marriages that survived longer than eight years

3X

Projected likelihood of divorce within 20 years for high school-educated women (60%) compared with college graduates (22%) who married from 2006 to 2010

needed to work harder to keep going.

Modern lovers are expected to be each other’s coach, therapist and champion, while also being vulnerable, familiar and playful. (See: Kanye and Kim, or Kimye, whose constant co-burnishing of fame and credentials is a klieg-lit illustration of Finkel’s point.) We need to figure out both what our partners need at any given point and how we, with our own challenges and quirks, might be able to provide it. And we have to do all this in the ever decreasing time we spend alone with our beloveds, a resource that has been mostly given over to kids, work and iSomethings.

But the rewards at the peak, Finkel notes, are considerable. Those people who can be both Carl Jung and Bear Bryant have better, happier, more fulfilling unions than any couples in history. “Americans [have] made marriage a more fragile institution, but they also placed within reach a whole new level of spousal connection,” he writes.

**GAMELY**, Finkel even suggests how regular people might reach this marital nirvana. His proposals are not as revolutionary as his reframing of couple-dom: Try to fight fair, be responsive to your other half, have fun, give your partner the benefit of the doubt, occasionally lower your expectations for what your partner can do for you. Also, for the love of mercy, carve out some time just for each other.

Alas, Finkel offers no solutions for the more pernicious forces that are grinding the joy out of pairing up: the lack of family-friendly employment policies, the winnowing of stable living-wage jobs for the high school-educated, the basic abandonment of the ill and aged to family care. It’s hard to reach the top of the mountain when you’re carrying so many other people.

But at a time when there is little agreement about the purpose, future and form of one of our most ancient and primal institutions, Finkel’s optimistic, data-driven attempt to capture what couples are striving for, even in the face of cultural and economic headwinds, is like a good, steady drink. Keep calm and marry on. □

*"Every day I feel I'm a better version of who I was the day before," says Daymond from his co-working space Blueprint + Co.*



# REAL Experience

WITH DAYMOND JOHN

Daymond John has enjoyed almost three decades of career success as an entrepreneur, investor, and reality television star. He's confident that with his experience, his best workdays are still ahead of him.

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Ready to start a business? AARP has educational resources and in-person events to help you develop a business plan, seek financing, mentoring, and more.

**AARP**  
Real Possibilities

OVER THE COURSE OF HIS CAREER, Daymond John has faced many of the challenges that come with entrepreneurship, but age has never been one of them. At age six, he sold pencils to classmates; at 16, he started his own livery service; and at 28, he founded FUBU, his clothing line. But it's what he's doing now and looking forward to in the future that proves he's never slowing down.

At this point, Daymond has either founded or invested in as many as 40 businesses. As he gets older, this depth of experience becomes even more of an asset to continued success. "Every day I feel I'm a better version of who I was the day before," says Daymond, "and with maturity comes a sense of poise and confidence that I didn't have as a younger professional." Looking back to those early days, he "had little tolerance and patience," he now realizes. "I've learned to be patient, to listen, and to seek support from those around me."

It's that same disposition and background that he looks for in collaborators. One such colleague is David Wolfe, the co-founder of mattress company Leesa Sleep, which has an office at Daymond's co-working space, Blueprint + Co. "David taught me that you're never too old to disrupt a market with a good idea," says Daymond. The two have partnered up on a number of charitable efforts and share a two-way mentoring relationship, drawing on the wealth of work experience shared between them. "It's very humbling to know that someone as well-

known as Daymond is getting something back from me," admits David.

It's their networking skills that brought them together—and what keeps them learning from others. "I've learned that you need to surround yourself with people with experience," he says. "I call them 'intrepreneurs.'" He adds that he's always looking for advice on new ventures from those that can help him continue to grow. David echoes: "Over time, you learn from mistakes and help others around you work through problems you've already dealt with in the past."

Looking to the future, the two feel their biggest career growth is still on the horizon. "I really learn something new every day," says Daymond. "I feel like I did in my twenties, like a rocket ship with the sky as the limit," says David. "Only now, it's filled with the fuel of experience."



Daymond and David Wolfe working together at Blueprint + Co.



### RETIREMENT

## Stock-market highs pose vexing questions for the soon-to-be retired

By Lucinda Shen

LAST NOVEMBER, EXPECTING STOCK markets to fall off a cliff if Donald Trump were elected President, David Littell, a 64-year-old retirement expert, uncharacteristically panicked and sold off his stock holdings.

But while stock markets defied Wall Street's expectations, soaring to new highs after the election, concerns that stocks could drop in value have remained, with the price of gold—an asset investors traditionally buy to protect themselves from market volatility—pushing to a 2017 high of \$1,349 per ounce in early September.

**SO HOW SHOULD** soon-to-be retirees protect their gains from the 8½-year bull market? Conventional advice has called for investors to lower their portfolio's exposure to uncertainty as they near retirement by buying more bonds—locking in their stock-market gains. That logic still applies, but in a country where more than half of near retirees are afraid that they'll outlive their funds, another idea is for investors to put a portion of their funds into a relatively stable place that will guarantee income for the rest of their lives. Namely, fixed-income

annuities, says Littell, who is also a professor of taxation at the American College of Financial Services.

Investors buy such annuities by making a lump-sum payment usually just before retirement. In return, investors receive a stream of income. But unlike bonds, fixed-income annuities guarantee a minimum monthly payout—for life. While those who die early may not gain back the entirety of their initial payment, those who die later in life won't live their end days in destitution.

Although surveys show that retirees like the idea of guaranteed income for life, annuities have remained stubbornly unpopular among them. Just 10% of Americans have purchased an annuity, according to a 2016 TIAA survey. That's partly because the majority of Americans aren't clear about what annuities are. Additionally, some investors worry that they won't live long enough to receive their initial lump-sum payment back in full—or that they won't be leaving anything for their heirs.

While that may be the case in some annuities contracts, investors should remember that Americans are living longer lives than before. Children born

in 2015 are expected to live nearly 79 years; 20 years ago that figure was 76, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Some issuers also allow consumers to buy a "guaranteed period," a window in which the buyer can pass their annuity to one or more beneficiaries after the buyer's death.

"Income annuities are underappreciated," says Wade Pfau, a professor of retirement income at the American College of Financial Services. "Income will continue even if the stock market goes down, so you aren't exposed to market risk."

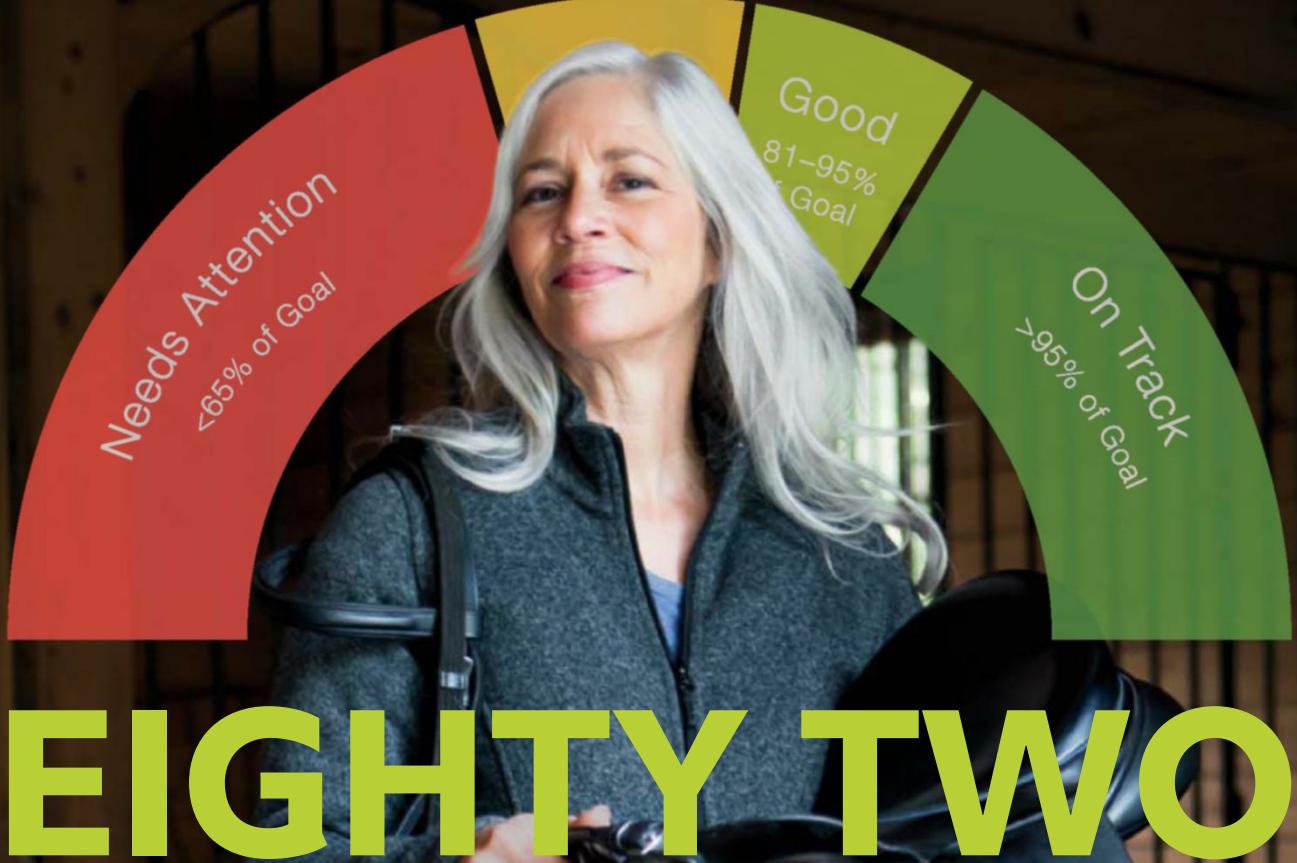
A 30-year treasury bond currently yields about 2.7%. Against that benchmark, consider a 65-year-old man who buys an annuity for \$1 million. He can expect a monthly payout of about \$5,444 for the rest of his life. Assuming he lives 30 more years, the investor can expect a payout of about 3.3% annually, or \$1.9 million total. Also adding to the allure of annuities is the continued uncertainty about Social Security.

Financial advisers typically tell clients to hold less than 40% of their nest egg in income annuities because they are also highly illiquid—making it difficult for consumers to pay off unexpected one-time expenses. That generally means those with health issues should be wary, says Mitchell Kraus of Capital Intelligence Associates.

**THE BEST WAY** for investors to decide how much to put into an annuity is by calculating their expected monthly expenses and Social Security and pension payouts, and filling in the gap with an annuity.

There are reasons annuities are used sparingly. Major employers offer no form of lifetime income guarantees in their plan, partly because regulations surrounding 401(k)s and annuities are vague, and fees can be high.

Consumers should also stick to annuity policies backed by a company with a high credit rating. Scott Bishop of STA Wealth Management says that because there are so many options of annuities out there, you shouldn't buy one "that you can't easily explain to yourself or others"—or those sold by high-pressure salespeople.



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### NATION

# A moment of reckoning for a soaring solar industry

By Justin Worland

IT WAS A FEAT OF AMERICAN ingenuity that created the world's first operational solar panel in the mid-20th century at Bell Laboratories in New Jersey. The U.S. maintained its pace-setting role in the development of solar technology in the half-century that followed, driving down its cost and helping turn it into a growing source of power for utilities and consumers around the world.

As the market has matured, however, global competition has nudged the pioneer from its perch. Today solar-panel manufacturing has expanded to a more than \$40 billion industry worldwide, more than half of which is controlled by China. With massive government investment, China has developed an unparalleled ability to build solar panels cheaply, allowing its companies to pass on the relative savings to the consumers and energy companies that buy them. As a result, China's solar-panel industry has grown an average of 18% annually in the past five years, compared with just 0.4% growth in the U.S., according to data from market-research firm IBISWorld.

Now two struggling American solar manufacturers have launched what they're casting as a last-ditch effort to save the industry's small U.S. footprint. The solution: a tariff on Chinese solar-panel imports. The appeal for them is clear. The proposed tariff would effectively double the price of Chinese panels, making U.S. panels competitive again in the domestic market. "Without temporary relief, there will likely be no existing American [solar] cells or modules industry within a short period of time," wrote Suniva, a solar-panel manufacturer, in a federal complaint. "Relief is necessary to prevent the permanent loss of a competitive domestic industry."

But the companies that operate panels and sell the electricity say a tariff



A solar facility on Navajo Nation land along the Arizona-Utah border

would rattle their industry. Electricity generation from solar power has grown exponentially in the past decade. If the cost of panels suddenly soared, many industry analysts warn, the development of new projects would grind to a halt.

"If you were to double the price of a solar module, it would have massive negative impacts for 99% of the solar supply chain," says Amy Grace, head of North American research at Bloomberg New Energy Finance, a research firm. "You would be cutting off your entire body to save your pinky."

The pinky in this case is about 8,000 panel-manufacturing jobs, a fraction of those held by the 250,000 people who work in the U.S. installing, operating and repairing solar equipment at homes and utility-scale power plants. These workers would quickly face job insecurity, with many possibly losing their jobs.

The potential fallout has inspired a coalition of unlikely partners—from the conservative Heritage Foundation to alternative-energy trade groups—to join together to lobby the Trump Administration to reject a tariff. They argue that the negative effects would extend beyond the solar industry to

utility companies, construction firms and ordinary consumers.

"Tariffs today would amount to nothing more than a crony capitalist giveaway," a group of conservative groups including Heritage said in a September open letter. "They would be paid for by crippling an otherwise growing domestic solar industry."

**A DECISION ON THE ISSUE** from the International Trade Commission in Washington, D.C., is expected this month. If the group determines that Chinese solar imports threaten to destroy the U.S. solar manufacturing industry, President Trump will have license to propose a remedy.

There are signs that Trump will be sympathetic to aiding the nation's solar-panel makers. He has expressed skepticism about free-trade deals, decried the U.S. trade deficit with China and reportedly asked advisers to develop plans for a tariff to boost U.S. manufacturing.

Together, this posture has left the renewable-energy industry unsettled. Solar and wind advocates have long believed the market will keep America's solar industry afloat. But even the market may be no match for a tariff. □

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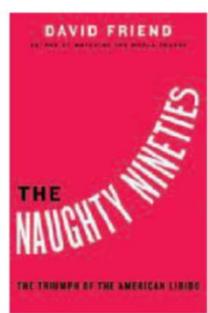
## The Naughty Nineties set the stage for our reality-TV presidency

By Jon Meacham

ONE OF THE GREAT HISTORICAL questions is also one of the most difficult to answer: When, precisely, did a given phenomenon, cultural or political, truly begin? Should we date Christianity's durability to the time of the Passion or, more likely, to Constantine's conversion? Can we, with Leonard Bernstein, say the cultural liberties of the 1960s came from the spectacular rise of Elvis Presley, with his highly sexualized, taboo-breaking style? Was World War II born at Versailles in the punitive 1919 peace treaty that followed the Great War?

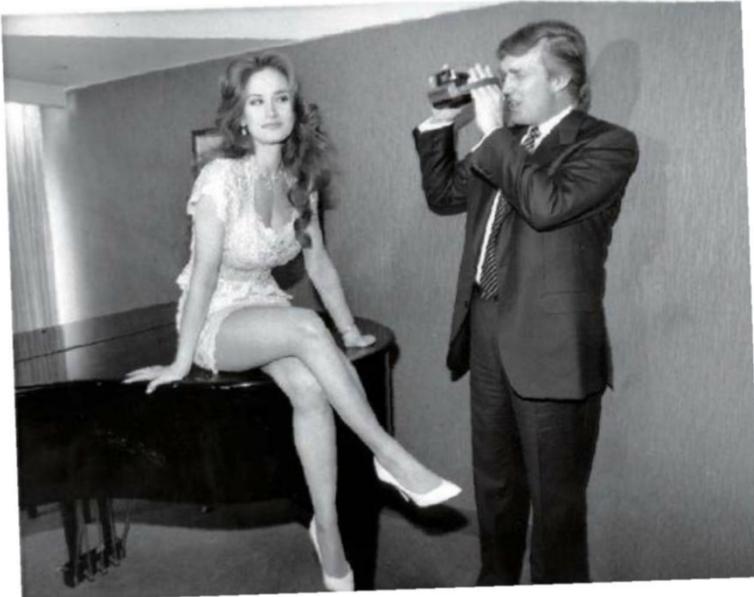
You get the idea. In the unending search to solve the central riddle of our current age—Why Donald Trump?—David Friend, a *Vanity Fair* editor and Emmy-winning documentarian, has come forward with a fresh view that deftly blends cultural and political analysis. The 45th President, Friend argues in his compelling new book, *The Naughty Nineties: The Triumph of the American Libido*, owes his place and his power to the world created by the sexualized excesses of the 1990s. “In some ways the victory of Donald J. Trump would never have been conceivable had America not withstood, survived and then assimilated the coarseness of the Naughty Nineties,” he writes. “How else would the electorate have been comfortable with a thrice-married President who had a fondness for fashion models, a history of hosting beauty contests and a string of accusers describing harassment, unwanted advances or assaults (all of whose claims he denied)?”

It's a pretty convincing—if dispiriting—case. As I read the sprightly book, I kept thinking that we are living



Friend analyzes the decade's obsession with sexual mores

The very real exception, of course, is that Trump has actual sway over our fates. Simpson had little power over other lives aside from Nicole Brown Simpson's and Ronald Goldman's, murders for which he was tried and acquitted. And Clinton, though he had the instincts of an entertainer, was a



Trump photographs a *Playmate* candidate during *Playboy*'s 40th Anniversary *Playmate* Search in New York City in 1993

in a world that's largely the product of two titans of the 1990s: O.J. Simpson and Bill Clinton. The rise of the 24-hour news cycle (really a news treadmill), the cultural centrality of character-driven drama and the mainstreaming of inappropriate sexual behavior helped pave Trump's path to the presidency. In this analysis, Simpson's Bronco chase on L.A. freeways was essentially the Pearl Harbor of our media-saturated, and media-warped, universe. His trial, with its daily, yea hourly, twists and turns, prefigured the Trump Show of 2016—a show that unfolded, as Simpson's did, on cable TV. And in the White House, with the discovery of his affair with an intern, Clinton provided a Simpsonized America with a new serial as the decade went on. Trump's rise and now reign is yet another season: bingey, juicy and addictive.

skilled politician who, for all his personal failings, presided over a largely peaceful and prosperous era.

**PERHAPS FRIEND'S MOST** troubling insight is that Americans are, at the moment at least, the problem, not the solution. Trump is President not in spite of who we are but because of who we are—even if many of us don't want to admit that uncomfortable fact. “Trump was ... a horndog, a braggart and a social-media-holic—just like voters were,” Friend writes of 2016. “Trump, unlike the typical public servant, was selfish (and committed to self-preservation)—just like voters, who were bone tired of giving and forgiving.”

There would be no Trump Show, in other words, if there weren't such a large audience for it. This was the same audience that obsessed over Marcia Clark's hair and child-care issues. The same audience that leered, with Kenneth Starr, at Monica Lewinsky's blue dress and thrilled to Linda Tripp's audiotapes. The same audience that made Viagra sales soar and willingly allowed their lives to be reduced to ever-smaller screens and self-curated feeds. And the same audience that now endures a reality-TV presidency that is, alas, our reality. □

Nation

THE ANGELS OF

Time

BY JEFFREY KLUGER



A LOT OF SMART PEOPLE DID A  
LOT OF THINGS RIGHT TO PREVENT  
A HISTORIC HURRICANE FROM  
DOING HISTORIC DAMAGE

at

AND HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS / MIAMI

Boynton Beach inlet  
in Palm Beach County  
was pounded by  
wind and waves as  
Hurricane Irma roared  
ashore on Sept. 10

PHOTOGRAPH BY JIM RASSOL

# A

## What we did right

The r of an effective emergency-response effort:



### Top-down coordination

Some 64,000 federal personnel have been dispatched to affected areas, FEMA is coordinating with local stakeholders, and unaffected states are chipping in support.

A HURRICANE IS A MONSTER WITH TWO ORDERS of magnitude. It is a weapon of mass destruction—an atmospheric daisy cutter that descends on a region and claws away whole cities at a time. And it's a precision-targeted weapon too—a disturbance that begins in the sky, travels across an ocean and, when it arrives, picks off its victims one at a time: the child swept under by the onrushing flood, the first responder who saves a life and perishes in the process.

Hurricane Irma inflicted both kinds of horror. In the Caribbean, the storm carpet-bombed islands that have few if any defenses. It damaged or destroyed more than 90% of the structures on both Barbuda and St. Martin. It wrecked more than 130 schools across multiple islands including Anguilla, the Virgin Islands and Turks and Caicos, affecting 2.4 million children. It shuttered hospitals, made food scarce, demolished infrastructure.

More intimately, there were the individual losses of individual souls. At least eight people from a Broward County nursing home died after the facility was left without power for days after Irma. Three people in a single home died of carbon-monoxide poisoning from a generator they were using when the power failed. Another Florida man was killed when high winds blew him off his ladder as he tried to put storm protection over windows.

In all, Irma has so far claimed at least 30 people in the U.S. and at least 44 people across the Caribbean, though the number will surely go up as the floodwaters recede. And yet the undeniable fact is that things could have been worse—much worse. Irma was the most powerful hurricane recorded in the open Atlantic in the satellite era: it spent a record three consecutive days as a Category 5 storm and maintained wind speeds of at least 185 m.p.h. (298 km/h) for a record 37 hours. It made landfall in the mainland U.S. in a state that is home to more than 20 million people with more than \$1.5 trillion worth of vulnerable property on its two southern coasts.

The Sunshine State didn't break; its cities didn't tumble. Yes, roughly 12 million Floridians lost power; yes, up to 7 million were evacuated or dislocated; yes, up to 600 shelters had to open across the state. But the shelters did open—fast; the people in harm's way did evacuate; and the first responders were there when they needed to be there. Florida did have a bit



of luck, as the storm veered slightly west, confining its most direct hit to the state's Gulf Coast, though flooding parts of the Atlantic Coast all the same. Still, 12 years after Americans watched in shock as Hurricane Katrina swallowed New Orleans and killed some 1,800 people, the system held. Indeed, it held twice. Irma took its bead on Florida in the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Harvey's assault on Houston—even as the nation prepared to confront hurricanes Jose and Katia, churning in waters not far away.

"We mobilized over 30,000 federal government forces down to Harvey," says Brock Long, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). "And 34,000 were deployed to Irma."

That's no accident. Senior White House officials



credit the smooth operation to veteran emergency managers who witnessed the failures of the response to Katrina as well as Hurricane Rita and Superstorm Sandy. “You can’t buy that kind of experience,” says Tom Bossert, President Trump’s homeland security and counterterrorism adviser.

The teamwork has been bipartisan. Before the Obama Administration left town in January, it briefed the incoming White House on all manner of possible emergencies, especially hurricanes, which were labeled “high-impact, high-lielihood” events. “It was a real education for us,” said one participant.

The lessons were evidently well-learned. At the federal level, not only did FEMA rise to the new challenges, but so did the Department of Health and Human Services and the Environmental Protection

Agency (EPA), which deployed to the affected cities to establish pop-up hospitals with hundreds of beds each and to test the floodwater for contaminants. The Department of Defense mobilized quickly and agilely too. Nearly 21,000 military personnel deployed to the Irma-affected region. They coordinated with the states, which coordinated with the counties and cities, which coordinated with police departments, fire departments, schools and businesses.

President Trump’s infamous impatience was also in some ways a boon, especially when it came to deploying soldiers and sailors. “The President’s point of view on all this has been, ‘Why wait? Deploy your resources,’ ” says Bossert. Days before Irma reached the U.S. Virgin Islands, Trump ordered his team to prepare the military.

**Big Pine Key, Fla.**  
FEMA search-and-rescue teams at work in a neighborhood in Big Pine Key. The Keys were hit especially hard



1



2



### People helping people

From pulling survivors out of floodwaters to cooking hot meals, an assembly of individuals, faith-based groups and local businesses are helping those most in need.



### Making the right calls

Taking a cue from history, Houston officials declined to order evacuations during Harvey. But mass evacuations in Florida before Irma's arrival may have saved lives.

Perhaps most impressive, and most hands-on, were the volunteers and faith-based organizations who did what volunteers have always done in emergencies: offer comfort and save lives. But this time they were newly and notably coordinated, often under the guidance of the National Voluntary Organizations Active in Disaster, an umbrella group that helps organize 60 nonprofit and faith-based organizations, including the American Red Cross.

It is too early for the U.S. to spike the ball. Millions of people are still without power; the costs of the losses are not remotely tallied, especially across the devastated Florida Keys; and the Caribbean islands just off U.S. shores face what amounts to annihilation. But in a world in which climate change is making storms both more powerful and more deadly, we're clearly doing a far better job than we ever have of learning on the fly—and applying what we learn.

**FOR ALL THE WORK** that state, local and grassroots responders do in times of disasters, FEMA is still the group that takes the lead. The agency was caught flat-footed during Katrina and was widely charged with being unprepared, poorly staffed and incapable of responding to a disaster of any magnitude.

Today's FEMA has grown up. Each afternoon in the three-plus weeks that Harvey and Irma have menaced the mainland, Doug Fears, senior director for resilience policy at the National Security Council, has convened a planning meeting in the Executive Office Building across from the West Wing. Fears' office is windowless, and from the look of things, he has not been going outside to get any sun. A coatrack holds spare suits and shirts, and a thin blanket and pillow are stacked atop a safe used for classified information. Fears and his team gather here throughout the day, but it's the 8:30 a.m. meeting, chaired by FEMA chief Long, who teleconferences

in by video, that sets the tempo for the day.

During the Sept. 12 call, Long's deputy asked each emergency manager in each state threatened by Irma to describe the state of play there. Homer Bryson, from Georgia, reported concern that tight gasoline supplies would strand Florida evacuees looking to return home. "We cannot guarantee that we'll have fuel to get them through the state at this time," he warned. Alabama's emergency manager reported that Floridians were decamping in his state too. "These people are getting on the road today," he said, adding a warning about "steady traffic" that could bring the impromptu caravans to a halt. That was taking place even as 1.3 million Georgians were still without power. From South Carolina came word of 174,000 people also in blackout and reports of up to 400 trees down along the Savannah River.

After these morning meetings, Long decides how and where to deploy his forces—a task that's gotten easier than it once was. In 2006, Congress passed the





Post-Katrina Emergency Management Reform Act, which took the handcuffs off the agency, no longer requiring it to wait for a request from a state before moving in to help. FEMA can now preposition forces and supplies, as it did with Irma and Harvey, working with federal coordinators who are appointed by the President and who can travel where they're needed to run the operations on-site.

Among the most powerful tools FEMA deploys are urban search-and-rescue (US&R) teams which have been trained to respond to mass emergencies. A US&R team associated with the Los Angeles Fire Department, for example, which had been deployed in Houston after Harvey, was redeployed to Florida, to await Irma's impact.

One of Florida's three US&R teams, associated with the Miami-Dade Fire Rescue Department, was also deployed after Irma, outside of FEMA's control, since it was in its own state. At 7 p.m. on Sept. 10, after Irma's thrashing winds slumped to mere tropical-storm-force gusts, the 35-person squad fanned out in the darkness over Miami-Dade County, combing the 2,000-sq.-mi. region for people in immediate need. When they were done, they were deployed twice more to two more vulnerable areas, all in the 15 hours following the storm.

Twenty-five years ago, this kind of roving, specialized team was rare. Now there are 28 US&R teams, each with 220 responders and each associated with fire departments across the country. In an emergency, FEMA can deploy any of them, a force of more than 6,100 reserve specialists at its fingertips. In the post-Katrina decade, US&R teams have been used often enough, in disasters from hurricanes to earthquakes, that they've become something of a coed fraternity. "For good or bad," says Dave Downey, Miami-Dade County's fire chief, "we've worked together so often now, we all know each other."

Just as elaborate as the human assets are the fixed, county-level facilities that Florida has built and expanded in recent years—especially the Miami-Dade County Emergency Operations Center, which was central to the state's response to Irma. The main room, the building's nerve center, resembles nothing so much as mission control during a launch, with a wall of 18 TVs, all flickering with satellite images of the hurricane's trajectory and real-time information on developments. Six dozen workstations are filled by staffers serving as liaisons to the fire department, school board, transit authorities, utilities, search-and-rescue experts and more.

Crisis managers have also demonstrated a newly refined knowledge about when it's smart for a state or city to call for an evacuation and when residents should instead shelter in place. Florida and Texas made opposite calls in the case of Irma and Harvey—and both proved correct. Shortly after Katrina, Hurricane Rita formed and began heading for Houston. Having watched New Orleans drown, Houstonians decamped en masse—about 2.5 million of them—and began fleeing north. Traffic stood still in what arguably remains the worst case of gridlock in U.S. history, just as a heat wave hit. More than 100 people died. "It was an unplanned evacuation that turned deadly," says Alan Bernstein, a spokesman for Houston Mayor Sylvester Turner.

This time, the call was made early not to evacuate, since while parts of Houston would ultimately be inundated by more than 4 ft. of rain, meteorologists accurately predicted that it would be spared the deadly winds that would lead to structural damage and storm surges. Had an evacuation been necessary, it would have been done right this time—with south-bound lanes repurposed to head north, doubling capacity, patrol cars stationed to deal with cars that broke down or ran out of gas, and electronic signs

**1. Barbuda**  
Irma laid waste to the island, where about 90% of all buildings were damaged or destroyed

**2. Havana**  
The streets of Cuba's capital were turned into canals; the country sustained a direct hit by Irma

**3. Marigot, St. Martin**  
Smoke rises from the shattered landscape on an island that is usually a tropical idyll

## What we must fix

Making changes now will prepare us for the future:



### Strengthen our infrastructure

National infrastructure—including power lines, dams, seawalls and levees—needs repairs and upgrades in order to withstand strong storms.



### Address climate change

Warmer water and atmospheric temperatures are fueling extreme weather conditions. Climate-friendly policies can counter this trend.

that could redirect traffic to less congested routes.

In Florida, evacuations were wisely ordered. Three days before Irma hit, it was already packing 180 m.p.h. winds and was on a direct course for Miami. Also figuring into the decision was the storm's murderous romp through the Caribbean, which woke a lot of people up to its power.

The effort to keep Florida's lights on—or at least get them back on when they failed—was another exercise in planning, one that benefited from a kindness-of-strangers collegiality that has developed among states and localities across the country as catastrophic storms have become more common. In the week before Irma hit, Florida Power & Light, the state's biggest electricity provider, sent out an appeal to other states for "restoration forces"—utility trucks, tree trimmers, linemen and other personnel from power companies. Ultimately, that appeal produced a force of nearly 20,000 people, many of whom were on loan from utility companies as far away as California, Wisconsin and 28 other states. As they streamed southwest, gas-tanker trucks were stationed along the interstates to facilitate refueling.

"It was truly a military-grade operation," says Rob Gould, a vice president of Florida Power & Light, who is, incidentally, a former member of the Air Force. "You're moving people, you're moving equipment, and you have to have it all ready to deploy."

That kind of all-hands generosity even more deeply informs the work of the neighborhood nonprofits and faith-based groups. In Houston, where local officials told people to focus less on getting out of town and more with getting by as the city flooded, this was especially in evidence. In the city of Katy, just outside of Houston, Kristel Meadows, a stay-at-home mother of four, learned that the firefighters stationed down the street from her had been slogging by in the same soggy, muddy clothes for days. So she marched over to the firehouse late one evening—breaking curfew—and offered to bring their clothes to her house and launder them. They accepted the offer.

The next day, she, her husband and others set up a barbecue in a parking lot of the Katy Elks Lodge and encouraged friends to bring their grills and smokers. Over the course of five days, they made 15,000 meals for first responders and neighbors who were out of food and water. "I can't rescue anybody," says Meadows. "But I can cook a meal, I can do laundry."

During Harvey and Irma, consumers and locals benefited even more directly from public-spirited companies. Home Depot makes it a practice of freezing its prices where a state of emergency is declared. As Irma closed in on Florida, JetBlue offered flat \$99 fares for anyone trying to leave the state before the airports were shut down. The National Business Emergency Operations Center, an increasingly effective consortium of big companies and business associations, works to coordinate the shipment of



food and basic supplies and share hazard warnings.

Going forward, of course, U.S. policy has to be built on more than heroic first responders, courageous communities and generous corporations scrambling to meet storm after storm as climate change makes hurricanes more powerful and more deadly. There are only so many D-Day mobilizations a country has in it.

The answer instead must be a suite of policies that both fortify coasts and cities against storms and discourage rebuilding in places that are too exposed to protect. Also important is knowing when to quit. Piet Dircke, a program director for water management at the global consultancy firm Arcadis, often offers his clients the simple wisdom, "Give room to the river." In other words, don't build your home in places you're likely to drown. For homeowners, the federal government has become the principal issuer of flood insurance after private insurers largely abandoned the market. The National Flood Insurance Program, however, makes little distinction between good risks



and bad risks, and there are a lot of policyholders who own what are called “repetitive loss properties,” homes that are repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt in the same spot. Just 1% of all policyholders are responsible for making 25% to 30% of the claims under the program.

Inconveniently, at least for those repeat offenders, the program is set to come up for renewal later this year, and Congress will have to act to continue, scrap or modify it. Harvey and Irma may not be voting members of Congress, but they should have a loud voice in the debate.

Ultimately and always, the question returns to climate change. Scott Pruitt, EPA administrator and a long-standing climate-change doubter, said the immediate aftermath of the twin storms was not the time to talk about their causes and that it was “insensitive” to address the issue when Florida and Texas were still recovering. That argument was met largely with hoots, even by fellow Republicans. “This is the

time to talk about climate change,” Miami’s Republican Mayor Tomás Regalado told the *Miami Herald*. “This is a truly, truly poster child for what is to come.”

Regalado is right, of course. So too are the scientists who have been taking the earth’s temperature for decades and tracked the fever it’s spiking, with the determination that the greenhouse gases humans are pumping into the planetary system are a powerful and correctable cause of the illness.

It’s to the nation’s credit that we’ve gotten so good at managing disasters when they happen—that so many Americans rush into the storm, risking their lives to help those who are trapped. It will be a similar act of courage—and kindness—to take the hard steps needed to help heal the planet.

—With reporting by CHARLOTTE ALTER/NEW YORK; ELIZABETH DIAS, ZEKE J. MILLER and JUSTIN WORLAND/WASHINGTON; JOSEPH HINCKS/HONG KONG; TARA JOHN/ANTIGUA; ANDREW KING and JONATHAN D. WOODS/MIAMI

▲  
**Ponte Vedra Beach, Fla.**

*A house slides into the ocean on the Atlantic Coast—one more home built too close to danger*

# THE KINDNESS OF Strangers

BY MELISSA CHAN

**A**S HURRICANE HARVEY'S FLOODWATERS POURED into his family's Houston home on Aug. 28, Isiah Courtney slung sacks of clothing over his shoulder, lifted his 85-lb. pit bull in his arms and led his wife and two young children to safety.

Two days later, the 28-year-old father reversed that trek, returning home for the first time since the storm slammed through Texas, causing an estimated \$150 billion in damage and leaving more than 70 people dead. Courtney and his wife found their three-bedroom house in shambles. Their 1-year-old daughter's crib was soaked, mold covered the cabinets, and nearly every appliance they owned was destroyed.

Courtney, who works as a coordinator at an oil company, had no flood insurance and nowhere near enough savings to pay for repairs. At a moment when all of Houston was hurting, friends and relatives could contribute only so much. So Courtney decided to seek support from strangers.

He started a GoFundMe page asking for \$40,000 to repair his home and replace lost appliances and furniture. "Anything will help," he wrote, below a news photo that showed his family wading through floodwaters. More than 900 people were moved to contribute over \$32,000.

"I needed to get the help in order to get everything back to normal," Courtney told TIME. "The GoFundMe account really helped. I don't even know how to describe what I would have had to do [without it]. It's really a blessing."

Courtney is just one of thousands of Americans who have turned to sites like GoFundMe and YouCaring in recent weeks in the hopes that sharing details of personal plights will stir strangers to help. In the first five days after Hurricane Harvey struck, more than 850 campaigns on GoFundMe brought in more than \$4.5 million for causes ranging from diapers for evacuated families to food for rescued pets. A 3-year-old girl who was found clinging to her mother's lifeless body in Houston's floods received more than \$175,000 for her education,

while a Texas family struggling to bury six relatives who drowned in the storm drew over \$47,000. YouCaring hosted more than 6,000 campaigns that raised about \$44 million, led by NFL player JJ Watt of the Houston Texans, who posted a plea to "come together and collectively help rebuild" after Harvey. Watt raised a record \$32 million from more than 200,000 donors.

"It's the largest crowdfunding campaign of all time," says YouCaring CEO Dan Saper, who joined the organization in 2014 after leaving the investment industry. "We had never seen such an outpouring of support."

Crowdfunding—the practice of raising small amounts of money from a large number of donors online—was once the province of startups and political campaigns. But over the past five years, it has ballooned into a multibillion-dollar charity industry, with donations going not to gadgets or causes but to individual people. As Americans watch the devastation of Harvey and Irma unfold in real time, they can now give directly to those who are suffering.

Since GoFundMe launched in 2010, more than 40 million individual donors have raised over \$4 billion, with education the fastest-growing request category. YouCaring has raised over \$800 million since 2011, largely for medical causes. According to a 2016 Pew Research Center survey, 22% of Americans have donated to such crowdfunding appeals.

This growth is fueled by the generosity of ordinary people joined to the intimate immediacy of social media—but it's also driven by structural gaps that have left too many Americans one piece of bad luck away from financial hardship. More than 40% of Americans are not prepared to handle a sudden expense of \$400 or more, be it replacing a broken car engine, visiting an emergency room without insurance or repairing a flooded home, according to a recent report by the Federal Reserve.

"People need help," says GoFundMe CEO Rob Solomon, who left his job as a partner in a venture-

**There's a  
lot of  
need out  
there.**

Rob Solomon,  
GoFundMe CEO



capital firm to take over the company in 2015. "People want to be empowered to help each other out. There's a lot of need out there."

**ONLINE CROWDFUNDING BEGAN** as a way to serve much less personal causes. Indiegogo and Kickstarter, which launched in 2008 and 2009, respectively, allowed entrepreneurs and small businesses to get funding for inventions and projects like the Coolest Cooler—a high-tech drink container with a built-in blender, waterproof Bluetooth speaker and USB charger—and a movie reboot of the beloved *Veronica Mars* television series.

Sites like GoFundMe and YouCaring saw a chance to tap this impulse and built user-friendly interfaces that seemed more like social networks than traditional charity websites, with trending topics and colorful videos. GoFundMe's founders, Brad Damphousse and Andrew Ballester, had previously founded Paygr, a site on which neighbors could buy and sell items or services, and their new company extended the support of neighbors to a much broader community. One of GoFundMe's early successes came after the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, when more than 34,000 donors raised over \$2 million for those who were seriously injured.

GoFundMe's founders also saw a business opportunity. The site takes 5% of what every campaign raises and also passes along a credit-card processing

fee to donors. YouCaring, in contrast, charges only the credit-card fee and is supported by donations. Neither company releases financial information, but the \$4.5 million that GoFundMe raised in the first days after Harvey would mean \$225,000 in fees for the company.

While no one disputes that this new fundraising model has helped hundreds of thousands of people, it's not without its challenges. The most successful crowdfunding campaigns convey a dramatic story of heartbreak or hope, complete with photos and personal details. But many people in need don't have a story that fits neatly into a compelling narrative, or the digital savvy or time to package it that way. And then there's the randomness of what the Internet elevates and discards. For every case like Courtney's, which raised tens of thousands of dollars, there are dozens of campaigns that never catch on, leaving people struggling.

Crowdfunding is still dwarfed by traditional charities, which bring in hundreds of billions of dollars each year in the U.S. But mainstays like the American Red Cross and Salvation Army are taking note of the medium's appeal to a younger generation of donors, especially those who are concerned about the higher overhead costs of established charities. As direct-mail and telethon contributors age, and with some younger donors preferring to give directly to those in need, century-old

*Isiah Courtney stands in the front yard of his Houston home with his wife, Danielle, son Bryson, daughter Aubree and dog Bruce*



Courtney carries his dog through floodwaters in this news photograph that sparked an outpouring of support

## **They were basically using our situation for their gain.**

**Jeremiah Richard,**  
*Hurricane Harvey victim*

nonprofits are seeing an opportunity to draw new digital funding streams from crowdfunding sites.

"We wouldn't have been here this long if we didn't continue to adapt and evolve," says Jennifer Elwood, vice president of consumer marketing and fundraising at the Red Cross, which has worked with CrowdRise, a site acquired by GoFundMe last year. CrowdRise's supporters are on average 45 to 55 years old, while the donors who respond to the Red Cross's direct-mail campaigns are 70 to 80 years old. "Part of our DNA is meeting people where they're at and making sure we're relevant," Elwood says.

After Hurricane Harvey, the Red Cross raised more than \$211 million, including nearly \$6 million through its CrowdRise partnership.

The Salvation Army, which collected at least \$20 million for Harvey relief, is also taking a closer look at crowdfunding. When flooding hit Louisiana last summer, damaging thousands of homes and businesses, donors gave \$4 million to the Salvation Army's relief efforts, which the organization said was not enough to meet the needs on the ground. In contrast, GoFundMe users raised over \$11 million for more than 6,000 campaigns related to the flood. The disparity was enough to prompt the Salvation Army to consider using crowdfunding campaigns in the future, according to Ron Busroe, the group's national secretary for community relations and development, but so far the organization has not done so.

Charitable donations in the U.S. have steadily increased since 2010, reaching a record high of \$390 billion in 2016, a figure that includes donations given to traditional charities and some crowdfunding campaigns, according to the Giving USA Foundation. That's a dramatic increase from the

roughly \$134 billion raised in 1976, a number adjusted for inflation, as well as the \$307 billion raised in 2009.

"There is a very significant role that crowdfunding is playing," says Una Osili, associate dean for research and international programs at the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, which works with Giving USA to track charitable giving. "It's increasing the overall amount, but it's also broadening who is participating. It has the potential to draw new donors and make giving more inclusive."

**STILL, CROWDFUNDING COMES** with risks that aren't present when giving to an established nonprofit. Jeremiah Richard, a 31-year-old Houston father of two, created a GoFundMe page after his family lost everything they owned in Harvey's floods and had to be airlifted out of their apartment complex—a rescue captured by a local television news station. Speaking to a reporter, Richard counted his blessings in an interview that was widely shared. Soon afterward, he was alarmed to see other pages popping up on the crowdfunding site, created by people he'd never met, purporting to collect money for him.

"It said I was the organizer. They were basically using our situation for their gain," Richard says. The two accounts he spotted have since been removed from the site. GoFundMe says it verifies the identity of all campaign organizers and employs a team to monitor the platform for fraud. Campaigns involving a misuse of funds make up less than one-tenth of 1% of all funding requests on the site, and when they do happen, the money is returned in full to every donor, the company says.

Crowdfunding also raises thorny tax questions. Unlike donations to traditional charities, donations to individuals are not tax-deductible. And while the IRS says those who receive money from crowdfunding can claim it as an untaxed gift, a handful of crowdfundingers report receiving tax bills anyway. Money raised from crowdfunding can also affect a family's eligibility for public assistance.

For Isiah Courtney, the benefits of crowdfunding far outweighed any potential risks. The \$32,000-plus that he has received will go toward repairing his house, including removing ruined Sheetrock and replacing furniture and carpeting. In the difficult days following the storm, he has been heartened by the support he's received from people he's never met, many of whom praised him for carrying his family's pit bull through waist-deep water to dry land.

"You are an AMAZING person," one donor wrote on his page. "Just when my faith in humanity had bottomed out after seeing tons of pets stranded and tied to trees, your picture surfaced this morning and gave me new hope." □

**VIEWPOINT**

## When the military does battle with nature

By Admiral James Stavridis

ALTHOUGH WE JUST WATCHED TWO ENORMOUS hurricanes rip through Texas and Florida, it is worth remembering that Mother Nature can easily surpass the biggest conventional weapons in our arsenal, unleashing destruction over vast areas. Fortunately, we have a force capable of responding to such disasters in the U.S. military. As I often said when I led disaster-relief efforts in Latin America and the Caribbean, “We are very good at launching missiles, but we can launch angels as well.”

In terms of Hurricane Harvey, many of the immediate responders by land were from the Texas National Guard and by sea from the Navy and Coast Guard, which rescued thousands by air and small boat. All told, more than 23,000 military personnel were involved.

While responses to Hurricane Irma are still under way, the Navy has already deployed a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier. Thousands of sailors and Marines have joined the Coast Guard as Florida National Guard and Army troops engage across the state and the Caribbean. Some estimates say this effort alone may surpass that to Hurricane Katrina.

Also in reserve are the massive hospital ship U.S.N.S. *Comfort*, high-speed catamaran vessels, Navy and Air Force military construction units, portable generators and communications systems, deployable command-and-control centers, all types of aircraft and plenty more military capabilities. Altogether, these relief efforts are a powerful reminder of what these forces can do with courage and dedication in the worst of situations.

### WHILE THE RESPONSE has been rapid and tightly knit, what can we learn?

First, providing resources to train for these missions is crucial. There is always pressure to use scarce funds for pure combat training, but every time there is a massive natural event, the expectation by the public is that the “angels” from the sea will arrive and execute flawlessly. That requires financial commitment.

Second, we need to practice drills constantly, not just for hurricanes but also earthquakes, pandemics, wildfires—the list goes on. Our military must be just as prepared to take action on these missions as it is to knock down a North Korean missile.

Third, we need the right mix of dual-use platforms that can be deployed both in combat

and on relief and humanitarian missions. Drones can find and kill terrorists, but they can also sweep across vast stretches of flooded or devastated territory. Our hospital ships have to be ready to deal with mass casualties on the battlefield, but they can also swing into action after a hurricane. Logistics aircraft can deliver not only ammunition to Syria but water to Sarasota. Everything we buy should be scrutinized for its value in both scenarios.

Fourth, while our integration across agencies and the private sector has improved over the past decade, many in the military are still not spring-loaded to work effectively with counterparts. This is a matter of training, equipping and organizing.



Fifth, on the seagoing side, we should operate humanitarian action groups in training just as we train our ships in carrier strike groups. Such a group might consist of a large-deck amphibious ship, a hospital ship and a high-speed support vessel. There are analogs in the other services. Creative deployments in training and response would boost the military’s utility in disasters.

Having watched sailors perform in these heroic situations—from the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004 and Hurricane Katrina in ’05 to the Haitian earthquake in ’10—it is clear that these are among the most important and fulfilling missions that military men and women undertake. The best uses of our armed forces will always mean battling foes of nature.

A U.S. Coast Guard lieutenant prepares for damage assessment and search and recovery efforts for Hurricane Irma

*Stavridis is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a former Supreme Allied Commander at NATO*



History

# THE WAR THAT BROKE THE COUNTRY

Ken Burns takes on the cataclysm of Vietnam

BY KARL VICK

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*In October 1966, Marine Gunnery Sergeant Jeremiah Purdie approached a wounded comrade on Hill 484 near the DMZ, in what would become an iconic image of the war. Photographer Larry Burrows was killed in 1971.*





**PUBLIC LIES, PRIVATE TRUTHS** Like Presidents Johnson and Kennedy before him, Nixon, seen here campaigning in Sioux City, Iowa, in October 1968, privately acknowledged that the war in Vietnam could not be won

**YOU THINK IT'S BAD NOW? THERE WAS A TIME—** not long ago, really, within living memory for perhaps a third of the country—when Americans attacking one another in the streets was a matter of routine. Bombs went off so often in some U.S. cities that a smaller explosion might not make the morning paper. The country was divided as it had not been since the Civil War, and the issue was not a President or an election but rather the ground beneath our feet.

Everything felt like it was buckling as the 1960s churned into the '70s. And if the one constant seemed to be the war in Vietnam, it seeded strife like nothing else. The war began in one era, when U.S. military endeavors summoned unity and lasted, at most, four years. Yet as the war ground on and on, it encouraged almost every one of the divisions that changed the course of the nation, for good and ill.

We know this both from the gradually accumulated perspective of half a century and—all at once—from *The Vietnam War*, the compelling new documentary by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick. The 10-part series, which runs for 18 hours on PBS starting on Sept. 17, is all the things you expect from a Burns opus: elegant, deeply felt, cerebral. But it is also warm-blooded in ways no previous project could be. The history at hand is too recent for elegy. Transitions are not slow dissolves into tinkling piano but

**'COVERING UP MISTAKES?  
THEN YOU'RE KILLING PEOPLE FOR YOUR OWN EGO.'**

KARL MARLANTES,  
Marine veteran

abrupt metallic rips, the sound of a sword pulled from a scabbard. The soundtrack is rock and folk, and the on-camera subjects describe killing people with their bare hands. "There are no armchair historians dispensing safe avuncular wisdom from their studies," says Burns in an interview with TIME. "These are all people who were in the fray."

A great deal of ground is covered, including the vantage from North Vietnam (where the children of the elite escaped military service). But the project's greatest value lies in its quiet authority, the frank presentation of the cold truth at the heart of the matter: from the beginning the U.S. government lied to its citizens about the war. Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon privately confided that the conflict could not be won, yet publicly pretended otherwise. In a time when faith in government was still something widely and gratefully felt, that betrayal condemned hundreds of thousands of people to their graves, including 58,000 Americans. It also generated an anguish still curdling in the men and women whose accounts carry the documentary.

"Making a mistake, people can do that," says Karl Marlantes, who arrived in Vietnam to lead a Marine platoon of 19-year-olds into battle in 1968, well after Defense Secretary Robert McNamara privately concluded the war was unwinnable. "But covering



**THE WAR AT HOME** Domestic opposition to Vietnam grew as the conflict dragged on, dividing American society on fault lines that grew deeper and more jagged. At a 1967 march protester Jan Rose Kasmir confronted members of the National Guard outside the Pentagon

up mistakes? Then you're killing people for your own ego. And that makes me mad." His mouth closes on the words, but in the kind of detail on which the tidal power of *The Vietnam War* builds, the involuntary twitch of a lip betrays a rage only barely contained.

**IT MAY BE HARD** to fathom a time when 18 American combat deaths could lead the U.S. to withdraw from another nation, as it did when it left Somalia in the '90s. Or when the widow of a lone Navy Seal killed in a combat raid could receive a standing ovation at a joint session of Congress, as happened in February. But in Vietnam, for year upon year, hundreds of Americans were dying each and every week. The number was announced on the network news like the stock report.

It was routine, but then so is rust—and rot. Over time everything that would become shorthand for the era in the *Forrest Gump* version of history—street protests, hippie culture, civil rights, rock 'n' roll, women's liberation—emerged from the gap between what the Establishment professed was the truth and what people were finding out for themselves. And Vietnam was always Exhibit A. Even Watergate rose from the war's chasm: Nixon's first order to his "plumbers" was for *kompromat* on the leaker of the Pentagon Papers, the Defense Department's candid secret history of the conflict.

**'THERE  
ARE NO  
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HISTORIANS.  
THESE ARE  
ALL PEOPLE  
WHO WERE IN  
THE FRAY.'**

KEN BURNS,  
co-director

Being history, the documentary lays this all out with a clarity that is never available at the time, but especially not at that time, when no assumption went unquestioned, and any possible commanding view was obscured by the smoke of a thousand fires. The filmmakers took 11 years to sort it all out, consulting scores of scholars and interviewing, on camera, 100 people, every one of whom was asked what music they remember listening to at the time. It helped that Johnson and Nixon taped themselves—and each other: we hear Johnson confide that, in 1968, candidate Nixon secretly persuaded South Vietnam to hold back on peace talks until he took office. In other words, he colluded with a foreign government to help win his election.

In an interview—though not in the series—Burns relishes the connection with today's headlines: "If I said I'd been working for a decade with Lynn on a film about mass demonstrations against the current Administration, about a White House in disarray and obsessed with leaks, about a President accusing the media of making up news, about a massive stolen-document drop into the public sphere that is showing classified information that destabilizes the conventional wisdom, and about accusations that a political campaign reached out to a foreign power during a time of elections, people would say, 'Wow, you're doing this moment and have abandoned history!'"

In fact, Burns and Novick set their sights on Vietnam in 2006, when parallels with the war in Iraq were there for the taking—as director Errol Morris demonstrated with *The Fog of War*, an extended conversation with McNamara. Burns recognizes there are lessons to be drawn, in small doses: “I’ve said that our recent divisions metastasized in Vietnam, but maybe the best way to see it is as a virus, and the way you might treat it is to try to develop a vaccine.”

**TO ITS IMMENSE CREDIT,** *The Vietnam War* occupies itself entirely with striving to capture what happened in Vietnam. The principals, including diplomats, spies, prisoners of war, draftees and Viet Cong, speak with often aching candor, since for many the definition of patriotism shifted from supporting the government to challenging it. No single view dominates, but a kind of consensus appears to take shape, formed out of shared experience and mutual respect.

“That was the great challenge of this project,” says Novick, “to find a way the film was open enough that people could coexist and have a conversation

that Americans don’t seem to be able to have terribly well at the moment.”

We didn’t do a great job then, either. The street fights—between hard hats and protesters, between rioting African Americans and the National Guard amid the flames of inner cities—were not the only evidence of an unmoored society. The war was also invoked by leftist radicals like the Weathermen, who

embraced violence at home; during an 18-month period between 1971 and ’72, the FBI reported more than 2,500 bombings on U.S. soil, with nearly five a day.

That’s not how people fight today. But then the Vietnam era predated cable TV as well as social media, so people had to shout past each other in person. When everyone watched the same channels, television could be a relatively cohesive force. Burns sees real virtue in that, which is why his series air on PBS, which, with 350 outlets, is the nation’s largest network.

“When I say that I’m trying to make it for everybody,” Burns says, “then I really am, particularly today, when there’s too much *pluribus* and not enough *unum*, as the late historian Arthur Schlesinger said. I’m very much involved in the *unum*, the stories we can share and that don’t make demons of one another.” □

## LASTING IMAGES

The conflict in Vietnam produced some of the most striking photography of the 20th century.

To mark the pivotal moment in history, TIME asked photographers who chronicled the war and those who lived and worked beside them to pick the image that moved them the most.

See the full list at [time.com/vietnam-photos](http://time.com/vietnam-photos)



**YOUNG GUERRILLAS, HOWARD SOCHUREK, 1954**

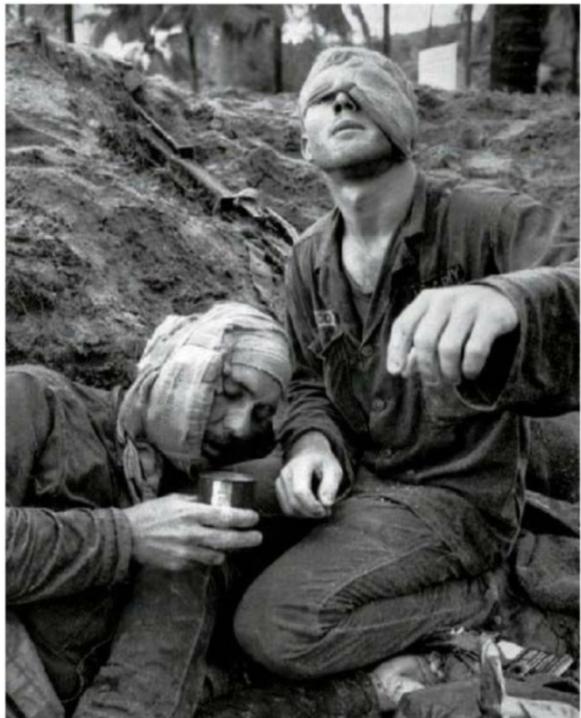
It's insane to think that these three children with grenades were going off to fight the Viet Minh army. Sadly, they probably died quickly in the war.

—Tania Sochurek, widow of photographer Howard Sochurek, who covered the beginning of the conflict. He died in 1994.



**MARINE WITH VILLAGERS,  
PHILIP JONES GRIFFITHS, 1967**

This image perfectly shows the seductive and corrupting influence of consumerism on the innocent civilians of Vietnam.—*Fenella Ferrato, daughter of photographer Philip Jones Griffiths, who died in 2008*



**VIETNAM WAR MEDIC, HENRI HUET, 1966**

In all wars the battlefield medic is often the stopgap between life and death. AP photographer Henri Huet, under heavy enemy fire, saw that role through his lens and captured the uncommon dedication that medic Thomas Cole displayed in this memorable photo.—*Hal Buell, who led Associated Press photo operations during the war.*



**PRISONER OF WAR,  
SAL VEDER, 1973**

I was photographing a different family and out of the corner of my eye saw the action and turned. I was lucky to get a break. It was a great moment for Americans! The joyousness of the reunion and the coming together of the family as a visual is outstanding.—*Sal Veder*

# MY FATHER'S VIETNAM

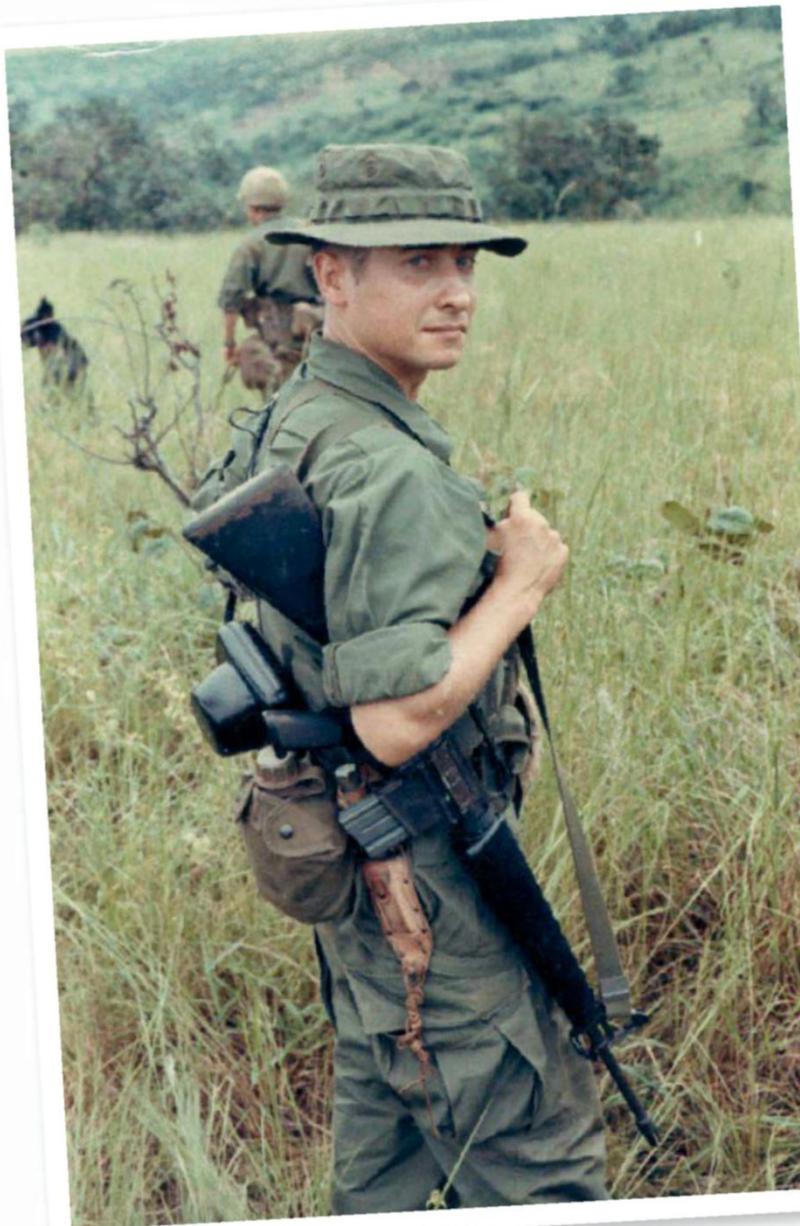
The casualties of a lost war didn't end with the fighting

BY JON MEACHAM

Thirty years after everything happened—and 31 years since he had first set foot in Southeast Asia—my father, a soldier of the Fourth Infantry Division, wrote me a letter. It was 1999, and the note came with a set of recently rediscovered photographs he and his friends had taken with an old 35-mm Minolta in the Central Highlands of Vietnam. There were images of impossibly young men, their helmets heavy on their heads, carrying M-16s, smoking cigarettes and trying to look happy—itself a form of bravery. There were pictures of the lush landscape and of villagers going about their business, drawing water and sitting, watching, some blankly, all warily.

My father's words, though, were the most poignant part of the package. "I thought you might like to have these," he wrote me. "You are the historian, and I know you will preserve them. I remember the brutal heat, the more brutal humidity, the chop-chop-chop of the helicopter blades and elephant grass that could cut men up like a knife. And I remember many things that I have never told you, or anyone. Those are the demons that I will always bear. South Vietnam, for me, is a place I've never really left."

Neither, truth be told, has America. As I watched Ken Burns and Lynn Novick's illuminating 10-part documentary *The Vietnam War*, I thought often of my father and, inescapably, of his "demons." He hinted from time to time about harrowing firefights with enemy soldiers but offered no details.



The numbers tell a grim story: from 1966 to '70, 2,500 fellow members of what's known as the "Ivy Division" died; 15,000 were wounded. For my father and so many other veterans, the battles never genuinely ended. Down the decades, casualties of this perpetual war included emotional stability, peace of mind, marriages and, more broadly, America's sense of virtue and of self-confidence.

THE POWER of Burns and Novick's documentary lies in its remarkable capacity to tell the story of the struggle in terms both particular and universal. This is part historical narrative, part cultural exploration and part therapy—the last made all the more effective by its subtlety. Burns and Novick take us from the corridors of power in Washington, Hanoi and Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) to rice paddies and jungles and POW prisons. Driven by Burns' characteristic devices—curated music,



limited but effective interviews and powerful still and moving imagery—*The Vietnam War* may well have an even larger cultural impact than his landmark Civil War project of 1990. (Colin Powell, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, gave President George H.W. Bush videotapes of that documentary to watch in the run-up to the Gulf War. In his audiotaped diary, the President recounted how the moving accounts of the travails of ordinary soldiers helped reinforce his determination to avoid a long land war in the Middle East.) I've always thought about what it would have been like for veterans of the cataclysm of 1861–65 to experience Burns' treatment of their war. With the new documentary we don't have to wonder, for the warriors of the Vietnam era, many now in their 70s, will be able to relive those momentous, disorienting days.

Vietnam and Watergate were decisive events in the erosion of trust in government with which we still live, and both Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon admitted in private what they would not say in public. “The great trouble I’m under—a man can fight if he can see daylight down the road somewhere,” Johnson told Senator Richard Russell in a tape-recorded conversation in March 1965, early in the journey. “But there ain’t no daylight in Vietnam.” During the ’68 campaign Nixon was

more honest with his aides than with voters—and soldiers: “I’ve come to the conclusion that there’s no way to win the war,” Nixon said. “But we can’t say that, of course. In fact, we have to seem to say the opposite, just to keep some degree of bargaining leverage.” The war would last another seven years.

**HAL KUSHNER**, a medic who was held in captivity for five years by the Viet Cong, is among the film’s memorably affecting figures. His voice catching, tears coming, Kushner describes his 1973 release: “There was an Air Force brigadier general in Class A uniform. He looked magnificent. I looked at him, and he had breadth, he had thickness that we didn’t have. He had on a garrison cap and his hair was plump and moist, and our hair was like straw. It was dry, and we were skinny. And I went out and I saluted him, which was a courtesy that had been denied us for so many years. And he saluted me, and I shook hands with him, and he hugged me—he actually hugged me. And he said, ‘Welcome home, Major. We’re glad to see you, Doctor.’ The tears were streaming down his cheeks.”

In the film Kushner tells this story with Ray Charles’ “America the Beautiful” playing softly in the background. To write about it risks making the presentation of Kushner’s release seem hokey, but it is not. Far from it. To me, the Kushner sequence is perhaps the most powerful moment in the entire series, not least because of the newly freed POW’s sense of dimension and size. The magnificence of the officer who greeted him, the “breadth” and “thickness” and the “plump” and “moist” hair: it’s as though the scraggly and sapped Kushner saw the general as the embodiment of the old America, the invincible America, the victorious America—an America that didn’t really exist anymore, or at least not in Southeast Asia.

One cold winter morning after Christmas 1984—I was 15, the same age my son is now—my father and I took a trip to Washington. Like a lot of other veterans, he had been skeptical of the plans for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, thinking the unusual design in a gently sloping hill in the shadow of the monuments to Lincoln and Washington suggested a lack of respect. Seeing it changed his mind. He said nothing as we walked along the wall of the dead. Coming to the years of his service, he stopped, searching for a familiar name. He found it, and it happened to be within reach. He ran a finger over the letters, turned, stepped back, and we moved on.

In his letter to me with the photographs of Vietnam 15 years later, my father was relatively terse about his thoughts in-country. “I wanted,” he wrote, “to get back to life.” My father is dead now, but for the warriors still among us, Ken Burns has at last charted a path back toward life, and toward home. □

#### FRONTLINE SNAPSHOTS

*Jere Meacham, above left, on patrol in Vietnam with other members of the U.S. Army’s Fourth Infantry Division. He sent the images to his son in 1999*



# FALL BOOKS PREVIEW

## SALMAN RUSHDIE PLAYS THE TRUMP CARD

THE NOVELIST RETURNS WITH HIS 18TH BOOK, *THE GOLDEN HOUSE*, A POLITICAL ROMP THROUGH OUR TURBULENT TIMES

By Sarah Begley

IN THE PANTHEON OF LITERATURE, THE BEST novels manage to feel timeless even as they capture a snapshot of history, from Jane Austen examining Regency-era social mores in *Pride and Prejudice* to John Steinbeck depicting the Great Depression in *The Grapes of Wrath*. But writing about the present is a delicate balance—include too many gadgets, apps and cultural reference points, and your story quickly feels irrelevant.

Salman Rushdie has deftly walked that tightrope for decades. From his 1981 breakout novel *Midnight's Children*, which covered everything from India's bloody partition to the pangs of unrequited love, to 2005's *Shalimar the Clown*, which took jihadism from Kashmir to Los Angeles, Rushdie has become a luminary by marrying the literary to the geopolitical. He takes on that task once again in his new novel, *The Golden House*, about a corrupt Indian businessman (alias: Nero Golden) who flees the Bombay mafia to start a new life with his three adult sons in New York City, picking up a Russian trophy wife along the way. Today's hot-button issues get play, with gender transition, autism, free speech and nationalism all serving as plot points. Observing the Gatsbyesque splendor of the Goldens is the narrator René Unterlinden, a filmmaker planning to make a movie about his wealthy neighbors. In the same way that F. Scott Fitzgerald "defined a

moment of Americanness," Rushdie tells TIME on a recent afternoon in a book-lined room at his agent's Manhattan office, "I wanted really just to smell what's in the air."

Enter the scent of the presidency of Donald Trump. *The Golden House* begins with the Inauguration of Barack Obama in 2009 and concludes after the election of "the Joker," a nickname for a Trump-like amalgam who has the green hair, white skin and red lips of Gotham City's original. "The Joker and Trump are both unusual playing cards," Rushdie offers. The Joker screams and careens around the city in the background of the novel, wreaking havoc while the main characters deal with their daily lives. "Most of this novel is a very realist novel," Rushdie says, "and in a way, what I was trying to say was, Here's a real world, with real people facing their real-world problems, and meanwhile, the public sphere has become this grotesque."

*The Golden House* is more grounded in reality than Rushdie's best-known work, the fantastical *Midnight's Children*, and more noir than his last novel, *Two Years Eight Months and Twenty-Eight Nights* (2015). The reference point is more Balzac than Kafka, he says. But the reality it reflects is a rarefied one: that of wealthy New Yorkers (some of whom are more likely to vote for the Joker's opponent, the Bat Woman).

Rushdie, who has millions of books in print, is

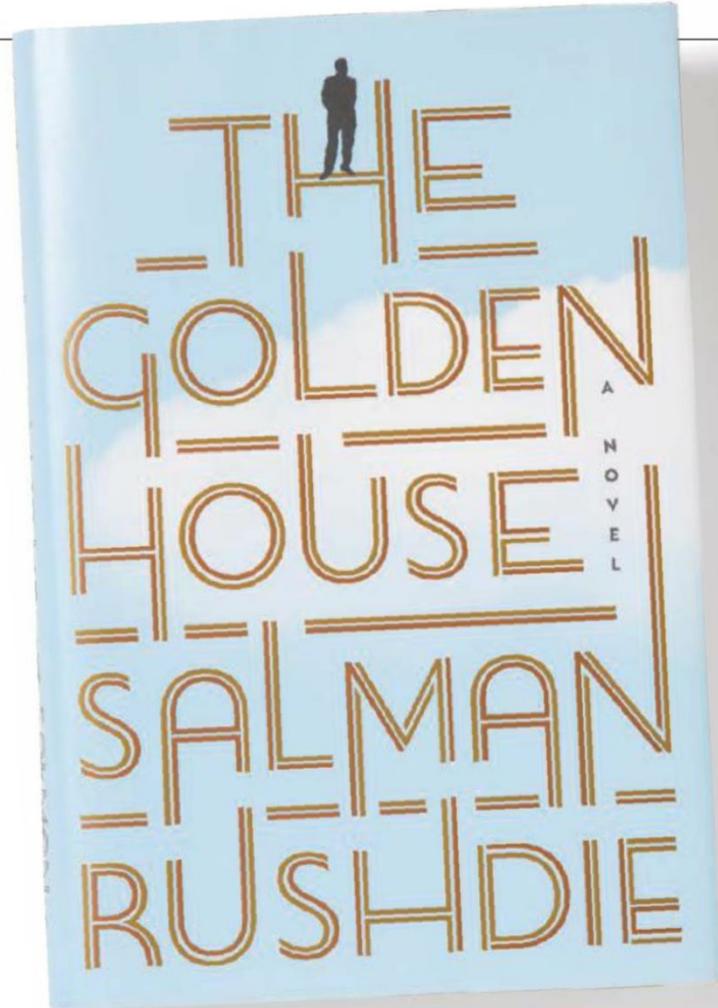
among the first wave of artists to react to the Trump presidency in their work. But he has more in common with Trump than you might think. They've both frequented the society pages, they've both had a string of wives, they've both picked fights with world leaders, and they've both played themselves in popular movies (Trump in *Home Alone 2*; Rushdie in *Bridget Jones's Diary*). Does all this make Rushdie the ideal novelist to write about the 45th President?

"You know, I'm terrified that you said that," Rushdie says with a laugh. "That's much too many coincidences."

Although some of Nero Golden's attributes flick at the businessman-in-chief, Rushdie says the character "really came out of another place," inspired by the Bombay mafia and superrich Indians who collude with it. "I'm thinking more about Greek tragedy than Trump," he says. "There's a recurring question in the book about whether it's possible for somebody to be both evil and good. That really was what I wanted to explore."

Rushdie says he wrote 95% of the book before the election, fully expecting Trump to win. Although he personally supported Hillary Clinton—and has not tweeted since Nov. 8, his final post a photo of himself with an I VOTED sticker—he came to believe that she was doomed. "I was in a yellow cab with a Sikh taxi driver who told me he was going to vote for Trump. And I said, 'Why would you do a thing like that? He doesn't like people like you and me.' And he said, 'Oh, sir, Mr. Trump, he's a straight shooter, says what he thinks, doesn't give a f-ck.' And I thought, 'Oh, Trump's going to win.' If Clinton had won, Rushdie says, he would have had to rework his manuscript. "I wanted very much to believe that Trump would not win, but my book thought otherwise."

The novelist says he has crossed Trump's path a couple of times. Once, years ago at the Metropolitan Opera, Rushdie says, "he sort of surged past me with his entourage, going, 'You're the man,'" snapping and pointing his fingers. "I thought, Really?" Another time, Rushdie says, he ran into Trump during the U.S. Open. "He asked if I was interested in tennis, and I said, 'Yeah, I like it,' and he said—in a way that has



#### WHEN IN ROME

The novel's title nods at Nero's *Domus Aurea*, and the main characters take on Roman aliases (Nero, Petronius, Lucius Apuleius and Dionysus)

become all too familiar—he said, 'I have the best box. My box is better than all the other boxes. Anytime you want to have my box at the U.S. Open, you're welcome to have it.'" Rushdie declined the offer.

If news of the book does filter through to the President, he says, "I would be interested to receive his tweet."

**RUSHDIE IS UNIQUELY** prepared to handle any blowback. He fielded a lawsuit from Indira Gandhi over his depiction of the Indian Prime Minister in *Midnight's Children*. And he infamously drew the ire of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini with *The Satanic Verses*, prompting Iran's Supreme Leader to issue a fatwa calling for Rushdie's death in 1989. Rushdie wrote about the incident in his 2012 memoir *Joseph*

*Anton*. The title comes from his code name with the British police, which protected him around the clock while he was in hiding.

Rushdie believes that the publicity surrounding the fatwa made critics stop noticing the humor in his books. "Because this very dark thing happened to *The Satanic Verses*, in some way people began to give me the characteristics of the event—that because the event was so dark, the work must be dark, and because the event was abstrusely religious, that the work must be abstrusely religious, because the event was kind of incomprehensible, the books must be incomprehensible. And somehow my writing acquired the kind of shadow of the attack on it." The fatwa gets revived every now and then, but Rushdie (who is Muslim, though secular) says he no longer takes it seriously.

So far the reviews for *The Golden House* are widely divided: New York Times critic Dwight Garner called it "bombastic and close to unreadable," but four major trade publications gave it a starred review, with Publishers

Weekly calling it “a distinctively rich epic of the immigrant experience in modern America.”

**SINCE LATE 1999**, Rushdie has lived in New York City; previously he lived in the U.K. for four decades. With Brexit, he says, “I feel about England right now that it’s like a family having a picnic on a railway track. ‘What’s the problem? What’s that hooting noise? Owls?’ I mean, they don’t seem to understand what’s about to happen to them.”

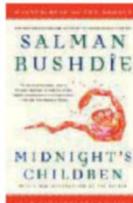
But he’s far more concerned about his native India. We met on Aug. 15, the 70th anniversary of Indian independence and the birthday of Rushdie’s most celebrated character, Saleem Sinai. The narrator of *Midnight’s Children*, Saleem is born at the stroke of midnight on the eve of independence, and he becomes a symbol of his young country as he grows. (It’s impossible to know how many millions of copies the book has sold, because pirated editions are highly popular in India. “There was a point when the pirated edition was selling so many copies that the pirates started sending me greetings cards,” he says. “‘Happy New Year, best wishes, the pirates.’ Literally that.”)

Seventy years after independence, Rushdie is troubled by the shunning of secularism that defined his youth and the turn toward tribalism and sectarian violence that has flourished under Prime Minister Narendra Modi. “What is worse is that the regime there, which is in many ways as worrying as what’s happening here, is very popular ... If [Modi] called an election tomorrow, he’d win in a super landslide,” Rushdie says. “That kind of sectarian populism unfortunately seems to be what the new India is.” By contrast, he believes nationalism is relatively niche in the U.S.

Rushdie became an American citizen last year, and a big part of the draw for him was the nation’s culture of free speech. “In England there’s a thing called the Race Relations Act, which means that it is actually illegal to make racist remarks,” he says. When he lived in the U.K., he thought that was reasonable—why allow racists to promote hate? But since moving to the U.S., he’s thought a lot about “where you set the limit, because different democracies set that

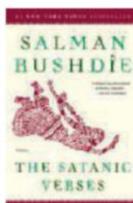
## A Rushdie reader

A range of the author’s work, from his early triumph to more recent efforts



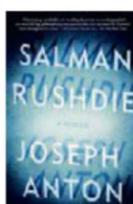
### *MIDNIGHT'S CHILDREN*

The novel won the Man Booker Prize in 1981 and was later voted the best book ever to win the prize



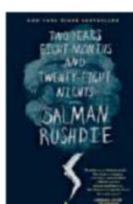
### *THE SATANIC VERSES*

The fanciful story of two Indian actors who survive a catastrophe is Rushdie’s most controversial work



### *JOSEPH ANTON*

Rushdie wrote about the fatwa and his time in hiding in this third-person memoir



### *TWO YEARS EIGHT MONTHS AND TWENTY-EIGHT NIGHTS*

The title adds up to 1,001 nights, and this saga is as whimsical as its namesake

limit in different places. There are countries in Europe where Holocaust denial is a crime. And I really began to come around to this much broader definition, which is the American definition. Because it seemed to me you don’t get rid of rotten ideas by forbidding their expression, and in some ways you make them more powerful because you give them the power of taboo.”

He’s concerned that young Americans today seem too censorious, too willing to give up their freedom of speech in order to avoid offense. *The Golden House* tackles this issue while flirting with giving offense by depicting a character with autism and another who might be transgender. Covering these sensitive topics made Rushdie nervous at first. “There are so many elephant traps, so many land mines you can step on, and then your foot’s blown off,” he says. But he felt confident that he could do them justice. Besides doing research, he says, he has autistic and transgender friends, and he spent several weeks with the transgender *hijra* community in Mumbai working on a project about AIDS for the Gates Foundation.

Rushdie worries that his own reputation as a partyer attached to beautiful women (including his most recent ex-wife, Padma Lakshmi) interferes with his critical reception. “I don’t feel like that person. Most of a writer’s life is spent quietly struggling with words on a page. That’s the person that I think I am,” he says. “I’m not nearly as sociable as the tabloids make out. Actually, I don’t like big parties—I like having dinner with two friends. It would be very nice for the books to be the focus and not all this other garbage.”

“I’m just glad that the books go on,” he continues. “If you’re writing this kind of book rather than conventional best-seller fiction, you’re not writing necessarily for immediate gratification. You’re writing in the hope that the books will stick around. And the fact that some of these books are now quite old and that people feel that they still have something to say, I feel great about that. Martin Amis, who’s my pal, had this great phrase where he said, ‘What you hope to leave behind is a shelf of books. From here to here, it’s me.’ And now there’s 18 of them. So that’s beginning to be a shelf.”

## Celeste Ng, novelist

The best-selling author talks about her childhood, her fiction and the importance of, yes, dolls

IN MANY WAYS, CELESTE NG'S HOMETOWN OF SHAKER Heights, Ohio, was all about conformity. When the best-selling author of *Everything I Never Told You* was growing up there, she says the affluent town's rules included mandatory lawn mowing (infractions were penalized with a \$100 fine) and a regulation putting only one mailbox and one street number on two-family homes, to disguise them as single-family homes.

On the other hand, it was relatively diverse—at least in terms of black and white—and racial prejudice was frequently discussed and dissected. But when the 37-year-old Ng was growing up, there were few Asian families like hers, and slights were not uncommon. “If there was an Asian boy, the

**If there was an Asian boy, the other kids would be like, “Oh, you two are going to have an arranged marriage.”**

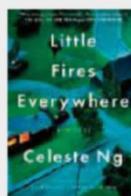
their mailbox, and in Shaker Heights prank calls happened regularly. “At the time I thought, Oh, they’re just playing around,” Ng says. “Now that I’m older, I don’t think it was an accident that they called our house.”

The surface tranquility and the tension just beneath make Shaker Heights in the ’90s a ripe setting for Ng’s new novel *Little Fires Everywhere*. The arrival of a single mother and her teenage daughter upends the picture-perfect life of their landlord and her family of six; meanwhile, a white couple find themselves in court after they adopt a Chinese baby. The poor, immigrant mother was having a postpartum episode when she left her daughter outside of a fire station, and now she wants her back. A judge must decide whether the baby is better off with her affluent adoptive parents, who know nothing about Chinese culture, or with her birth mother.

“I didn’t want there to be a villain or a hero—I just wanted to sort of show how incredibly complicated the situation was,” Ng says. “I do feel like it’s important to allow adoptees to have access to their birth cultures to the extent that they want to. For most people we are very much shaped by where we came from, either because of what we know or because of what we don’t know. I think this is part of why people of

### SOPHOMORE SUCCESS

Ng’s second novel is one of the most anticipated books of the fall



Her first book earned her several awards and a fellowship from the NEA



all cultures are interested in questions of genealogy and heritage.”

Ng’s first novel focused on a multi-racial family in the ’70s struggling to understand their relationships to one another. She used her own experience as a touch point—her husband is white, and she feels grateful to live in a time when marriages like hers are more accepted. “One generation ago I think that it would have been a lot harder for us to have gotten our families’ approval, and it would have been a lot harder for our kids,” she says. The lawyer making the case for the Chinese mother in *Little Fires* argues that the white family will have a hard time exposing the baby to her culture, since there are hardly any books or dolls representing Chinese boys and girls.

That has changed somewhat since the ’90s. When American Girl introduced its first Asian doll, in 1995, Ng’s mother bought one for her, “even though I was 15 and I was kind of too old for dolls,” she says. “But it felt really important to both of us to get me a doll that looked kind of like me.” When Ng’s son was a toddler, he gravitated toward an Asian boy doll in a toy store, and she made sure to buy it for him. He’s now about to turn 7, and she makes a point of getting him books that feature Chinese characters (they especially like Grace Lin’s books) as well as other underrepresented groups.

The representation in Ng’s work has proved deeply meaningful for her readers. During her paperback book tour for *Everything*, she says, “It was interesting to hear teens, a lot of them mixed teens, say, ‘I haven’t read a book about somebody who looks like me, and this is the first time I’ve gotten to do that.’ I feel really honored by that.”

—SARAH BEGLEY

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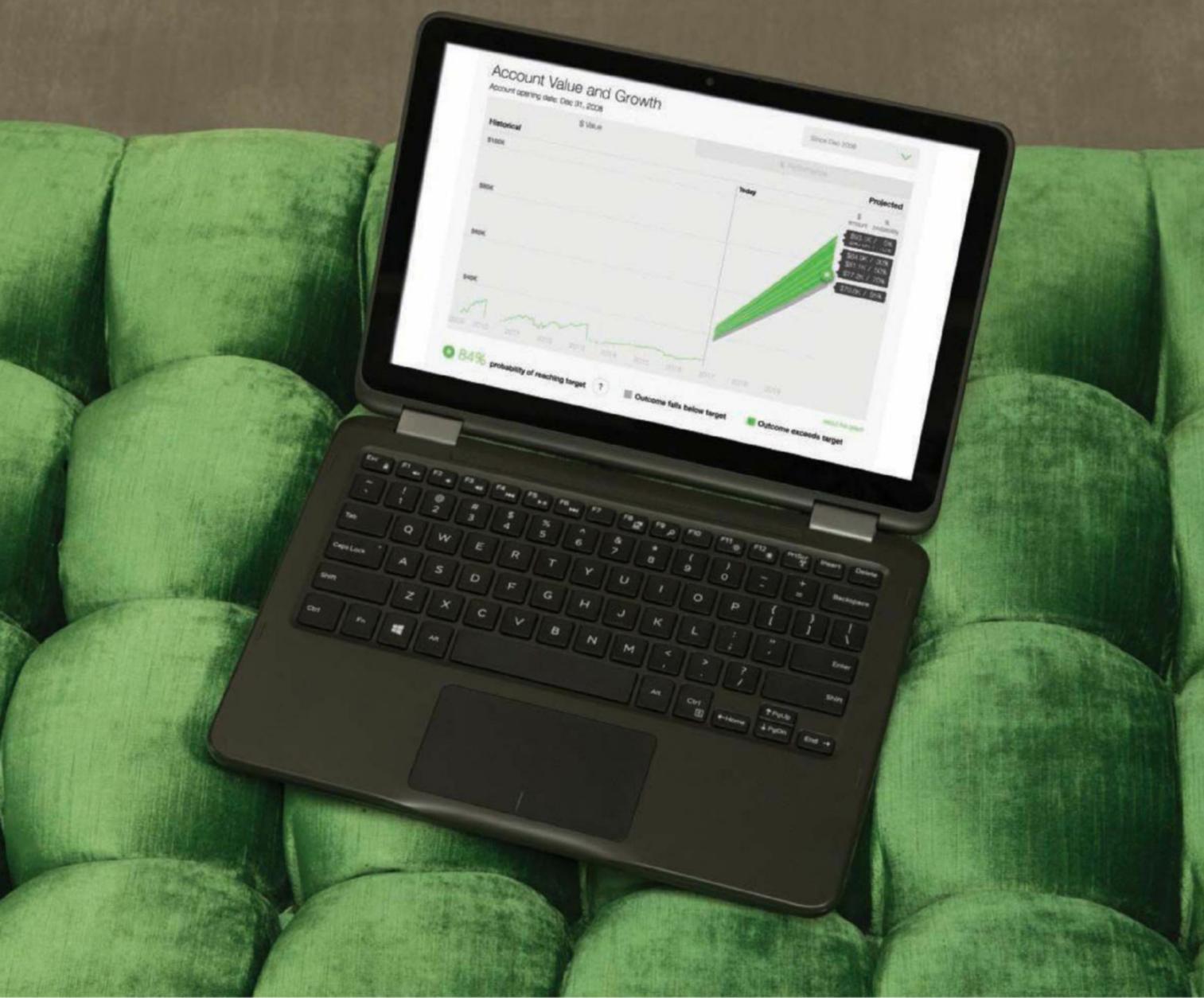
Toyota Safety Sense™ standard on the 2018 Camry.

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Let's  
Go  
Places

Prototype shown with options. Production model may vary. \*Drivers are responsible for their own safe driving. Always pay attention to your surroundings and drive safely. Depending on the conditions of roads, weather and the vehicle, the system(s) may not work as intended. See Owner's Manual for additional limitations and details. ©2017 Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc.



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## SUSPENSE

## Stephen King's September

MONARCH OF SUSPENSE STEPHEN King is abdicating, sort of. The blockbuster author wrote his latest novel, *Sleeping Beauties*, with his son Owen King, the author of 2013's *Double Feature*. In the father and son's first collaboration, all but one woman in the small town of Dooling fall prey to a mysterious sleeping sickness, leaving the men to fend for themselves in an increasingly violent world. Television rights to *Sleeping Beauties* were snapped up by Anonymous Content in the spring, months ahead of the novel's Sept. 26 release.

*Sleeping Beauties* is just one of the elder King's projects that fans can consume this month: *It*, published in 1986, has joined the ranks of other King novels adapted to film, with a new movie starring Bill Skarsgård as the evil clown. Opening weekend brought in a whopping \$123 million. And at the end of September, Netflix will premiere *Gerald's Game*, a film based on King's 1992 novel about a woman who finds herself stranded and handcuffed to a bed after a sex game with her husband goes wrong. —LUCY FELDMAN

## MASTERS

## Fall's heavy hitters

This season's slate of new literary fiction includes multiple Pulitzer Prize winners and finalists. Here are four to check out. —Sarah Begley

**FUTURE HOME OF THE LIVING GOD****By Louise Erdrich**

After a kind of reverse evolution plagues babies worldwide, a pregnant woman evades capture by government forces and goes in search of her mother.

**MANHATTAN BEACH****By Jennifer Egan**

A Brooklyn woman becomes the only female diver to work on a World War II ship, learning about her past and mingling with gangsters along the way.

**DINNER AT THE CENTER OF THE EARTH****By Nathan Englander**

An anonymous man lingers in an Israeli jail cell while the general who imprisoned him lies dying in a hospital bed in this genre-bending novel of espionage.

**FRESH COMPLAINT****By Jeffrey Eugenides**

This new story collection from the author of *Middlesex* offers up character portraits of a musician struggling with fatherhood, a poet turned embezzler and more.



## KIDS

## Six poignant novels for young readers

Fall's YA roster includes a coming-of-age tale set in the Harlem projects and a Harry Potter-esque adventure. —Samantha Cooney

**THE STARS  
BENEATH OUR FEET**  
By David Barclay  
Moore

After the murder of his older brother, a Harlem boy finds an outlet for his grief.

**NEVERMOOR:  
THE TRIALS OF  
MORRIGAN CROW**  
By Jessica Townsend

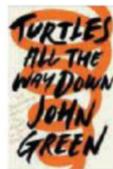
An 11-year-old heroine avoids death by escaping to a magical new land.

**WISHTREE**  
By Katherine  
Applegate

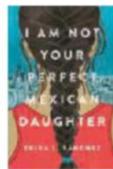
A 200-year-old oak tree offers solace to a Muslim girl facing discrimination in her new neighborhood.

**RELEASE****By Patrick Ness**

In this modern retelling of *Mrs. Dalloway*, a 17-year-old confronts his feelings for his ex-boyfriend.

**TURTLES ALL  
THE WAY DOWN**  
By John Green

A teenage girl with OCD investigates the disappearance of a local billionaire.

**I AM NOT YOUR  
PERFECT MEXICAN  
DAUGHTER**  
By Erika L. Sánchez

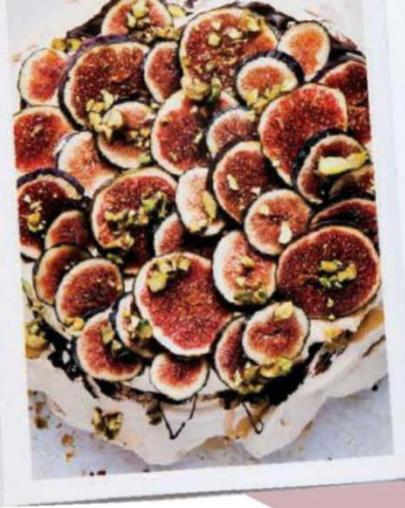
When her "perfect" sister dies, 15-year-old Julia reconsiders her family's dynamics.

FALL FARE

## Harvesting the bookshelf

By Lucy Feldman

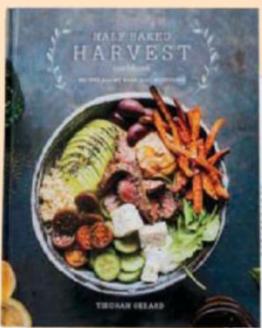
THIS FALL SET YOUR TABLE FOR A SEASONAL FEAST with six new cookbooks by favorite chefs—and some newcomers. First, rouse your appetite with a crusty sourdough bread, courtesy of James Beard Award-winning baker Jim Lahey. Then tuck in your bib for gnocchi reimagined with pumpkin and crispy-skinned chicken with dates. Your sides: roasted cauliflower and fancy spinach. For dessert there's Yotam Ottolenghi and Helen Goh's pavlova with figs.



### TRUCCIO SARÉ (WHOLE-WHEAT SOURDOUGH)

From Jim Lahey's *The Sullivan Street Bakery Cookbook*

This dense, earthy loaf was concocted (like its name) by Lahey, winner of the James Beard Award for Outstanding Baker. Start your meal with a thick, crusty slice drizzled with olive oil and vinegar—and a glass of wine on the side.



### PUMPKIN AND OREGANO-BUTTER GNOCCHI

From Tieghan Gerard's *Half Baked Harvest Cookbook: Recipes From My Barn In the Mountains*

For a warm bowl of autumn comfort, mix pure pumpkin puree with baked and mashed potato, eggs, flour and pecorino to form a dough. Roll into ropes and cut into bite-size pieces. Boil, then finish in a skillet and top with brown-butter sauce.

### Simple Fare

A guide to everyday cooking and eating

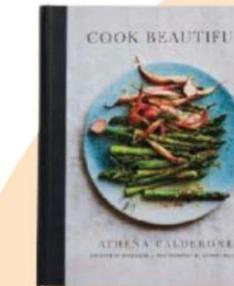
Karen Mordechai  
creator of *Sunday Suppers*



## CINNAMON PAVLOVA PRALINE CREAM AND FRESH FIGS

## From Yotam Ottolenghi and Helen Goh's Sweet

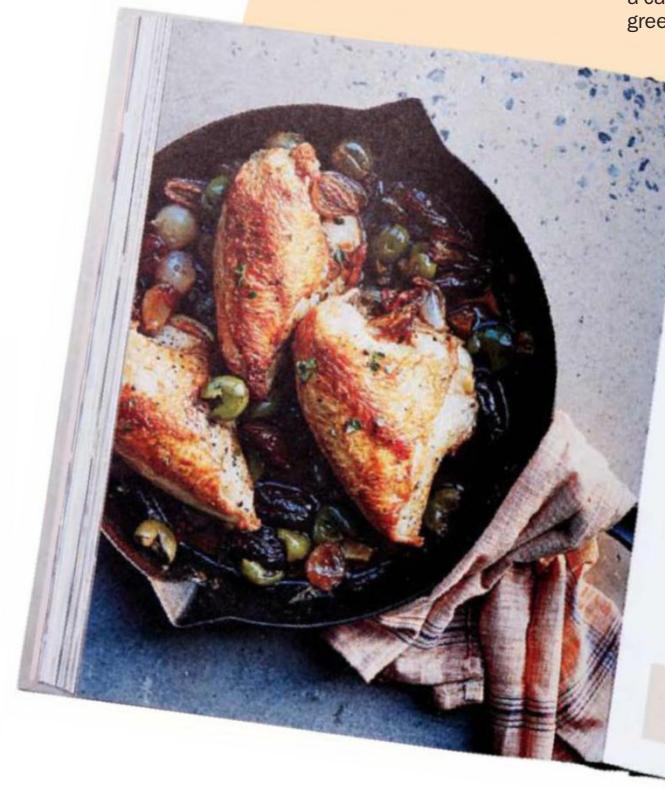
Ottolenghi, the influential chef behind *Plenty* and *Jerusalem*, turns his attention to dessert. Brown sugar brings a toffee texture to the meringue base; this delicate treat topped with figs, an early-fall favorite.



## PAN-ROASTED CHICKEN WITH SHALLOTS AND DATES

## From Athena Calderone's *Cook Beautiful*

Calderone's emphasis on the aesthetics of food makes her mouthwatering chicken an ideal centerpiece. For tender chicken with crispy skin, there's no alternative to a cast-iron skillet. Smashed green olives add a little tang.



## BURNT LEMON CAULIFLOWER

**From Karen Mordechai's *Simple Fare Fall/Winter: A Guide to Everyday Cooking and Eating***

A high oven temperature ensures crispy florets. Toss with olive oil, salt and Mordechai's fermented lemon and garlic confit. Roast, then serve with yogurt, mint and chives.



## CATALAN SPINACH

## **From José Pizarro's Catalonia: Recipes From Barcelona and Beyond**

**Garlic, raisins and pine nuts add pizzazz to London-based Spanish chef Pizarro's spinach side. For an extra nod to the season, toss in some chopped apple.**



SECOND ACTS

## Celebrities! They're just like writers!

By Nate Hopper

Because you read  
**JAMES THURBER** ...



**TOM HANKS,**  
*Uncommon Type*

Across 17 stories—each featuring a typewriter, which Hanks collects—the actor introduces characters like a World War II veteran, a small-town newspaper columnist, some friends who go bowling and to the moon and an actor, albeit not an A-lister. They are often as charming and as (the descriptor has become unavoidable) all-American as the author himself.

Because you read **OPRAH WINFREY** and **JOEL OSTEEN** ...



**TYLER PERRY,**  
*Higher Is Waiting*

The comedic titan offers the lessons he learned about faith during a childhood of brutality inflicted on him, his mother, his aunt and their elders before them—and during his adult life as a powerful entertainment-industry figure. At the end of each chapter, Perry poses questions for readers to ask themselves and often offers proverbs to consider.

Because you read **EDITH WHARTON** ...



**MATTHEW WEINER,**  
*Heather, the Totality*

After becoming haunted by witnessing a teenage girl experience what may have been a threatening interaction on a New York City street, the *Mad Men* showrunner began what became this novel, written from the perspective of several characters vying for control of a well-heeled young woman. One of the contenders is a man who is more than mad.

Because you read  
**MINDY KALING**  
and **BAD FEMINIST** ...



**GABRIELLE UNION,**  
*We're Going to Need More Wine*

In her collection of essays about being an actor who is both black and famous (and funny and honest and a “grown-ass woman”) Union details how the expectations of celebrity conflict with reality—including when you’ve had several miscarriages, yet every stranger not only asks whether you’re pregnant but says they hope you are.

Because you read **JOHN GRISHAM** and **JOHN GREEN** ...



**KRYSTEN RITTER,**  
*Bonfire*

The Jessica Jones lead has turned her attention to a new lawyer: one who returns to her hometown after a decade to investigate a major company, Optimal Plastics. There are allegations of dumping chemicals, but she soon finds herself tracking the case of a high school bully, who went missing after suffering mysterious spasms.

Because you read **B.J. NOVAK** ...



**B.J. NOVAK,**  
*The Alphabet Book With No Pictures*

For the sequel to his blockbuster, *The Book With No Pictures*, the actor has put together another, well, pictureless picture book. This time he introduces each letter of the alphabet in order—and as the chapters progress, he deploys only the ones readers have met so far. It’s a lively and delightful new kind of ABCs, which begins with an “AaaaaAAAAaA.”

POLITICS

## Elective reading

In the aftermath of the 2016 presidential campaign, you can pick your postmortem narrative. —Lily Rothman

WHAT  
HAPPENED

HILLARY  
RODHAM  
CLINTON

**WHAT HAPPENED**

Hillary Rodham Clinton has an answer to the biggest question of 2016.

JOE  
BIDEN

PROMISE  
ME, DAD

A YEAR OF HOPE, HONOR, AND HUMOR

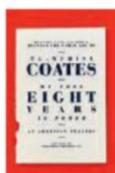
**PROMISE ME, DAD**

Joe Biden remembers his most critical year of personal and political pressure.



**AN AMERICAN FAMILY**

Khizr Khan, of Democratic National Convention fame, keeps things personal.



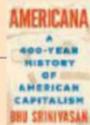
**WE WERE EIGHT  
YEARS IN POWER: AN  
AMERICAN TRAGEDY**

Ta-Nehisi Coates compiles his essays on the Obama era.

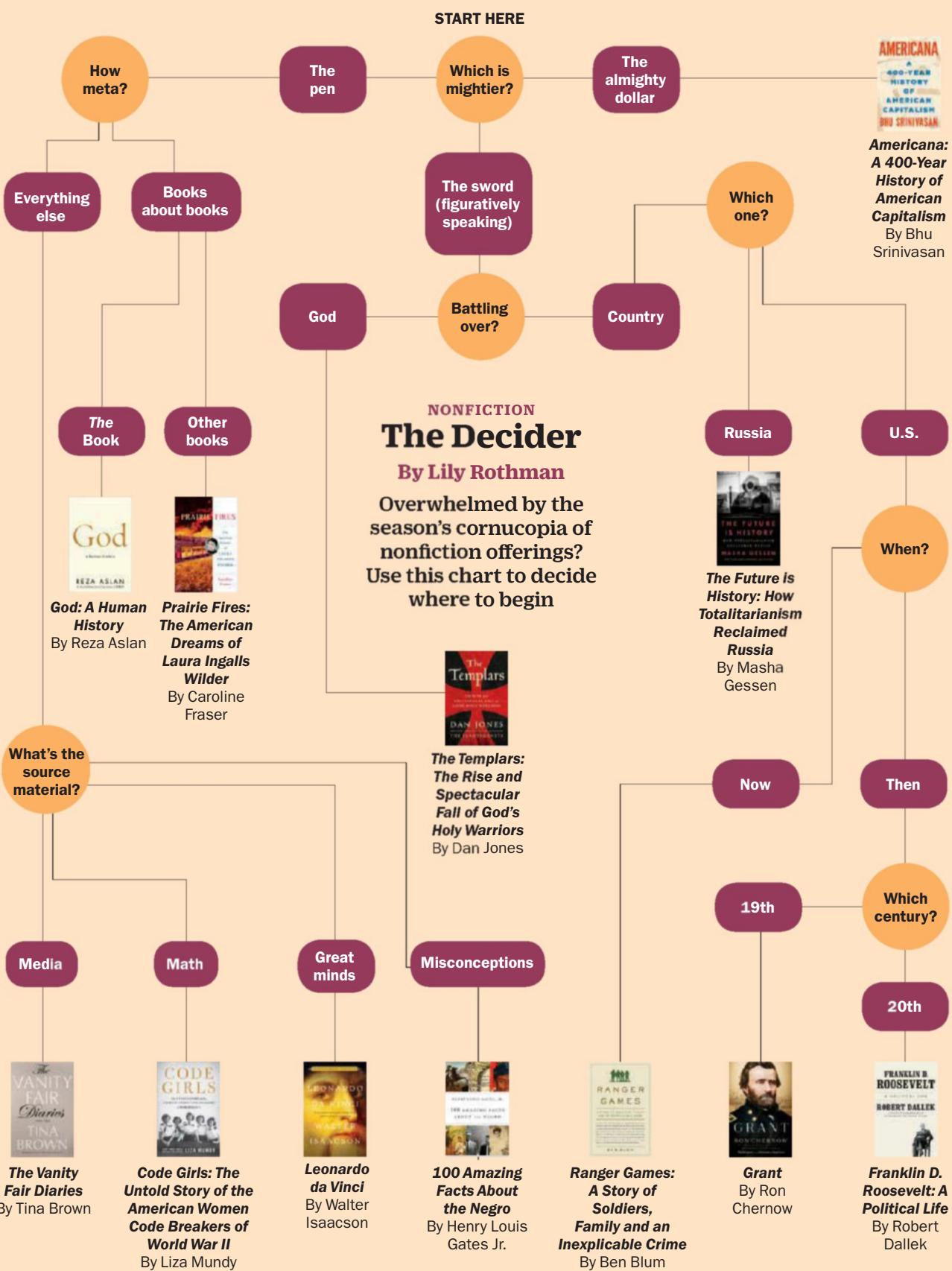


**BILLIONAIRE AT THE  
BARRICADES**

Laura Ingraham explains the American populist history behind President Trump.



**Americana:**  
A 400-Year  
History of  
American  
Capitalism  
By Bhupathy  
Srinivasan





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**Paul Fredrick**



### Hillary Clinton writes the first draft of her history

By Susanna Schröbsdorff

HILLARY CLINTON HAS SPENT 40 YEARS TRYING TO BE liked. In her new memoir, *What Happened*, she describes the myriad ways she has tried to modulate herself to fit our expectations of her, which is a tidy but long list of all the usual impossible standards women face. She changed her name, her clothing and her demeanor in response to criticism and rejection. She spent what adds up to a month of time on the 2016 campaign trail having her hair and makeup done; if she showed up without having those things done, she got slammed. She even hired a linguistics expert so she could learn to rev up a crowd by shouting while not sounding too high-pitched. (That, she concludes in the book, turned out to be impossible.) Some people might view these studied alterations as signs of inauthenticity. But judging from *What Happened*, the most candid of her three memoirs, it seems to be the price she paid to be “likable” to a country that was not, in the end, ready for Hillary.

Unfortunately, likability is too often a woman’s most valuable currency, trumping competence and worthiness. A hint of unlikability can undermine a woman’s success like nothing else. Studies show that the higher you aim, the harder it is to be seen as likable if you’re a woman. And what’s higher than the presidency? Sure, this woman is admired and even loved by millions. But the forces on the other side of that equation proved stronger and louder. For many, just the sight of her sparks a kind of rage that can’t be explained in the usual political terms.

And yet time after time, Clinton stepped up to face rejection and unimaginably cruel comments about her body and soul. In *What Happened*, she describes the decision to run for President again as like going back in front of a firing squad. People often ask her why she wanted to go through all that. She writes that nobody questions a man’s desire to win, so why question hers? Men also don’t get the utterly personal hatred that a woman does when she dares to aim too high.

I’M STARTING TO THINK that Clinton is like an avatar in a video game in which the goal is to slay sexism. She has explored the extreme boundaries of likability and female ambition, living out some of our best hopes and worst fears, in one year. Take her attendance at Donald Trump’s Inauguration. She had to stand with the previous President, whom she feels she let down profoundly by losing, while facing thousands of people who despised her on a scarily personal level for daring to run in the first place. As she writes, the crowd could have started to chant “lock her up” as they did at almost every Trump rally. And it was entirely



Clinton’s white pantsuit became a clarion call among women

possible that the new President would egg them on as he had before.

I WOULDN’T HAVE RISKED that kind of public rejection for anything except my kids. But I’m not Clinton. I don’t know if watching her resilience makes it harder for a woman to imagine running for President or easier now that she’s publicizing the realities of our sexism.

Then there’s the guilt. Clinton is clearly devastated to have let down the girls at her rallies, her campaign staff, the very old ladies who were born before women’s suffrage and finally got to vote for a woman, and even her now gone parents. She writes about how she’d test her father’s unconditional love as a kid by asking him if he’d love her even if she did something bad or failed. He always said he’d love her no matter what, but in the dark days after the election she imagines asking him, “Well, Dad, what if I lose an election I should have won and let an unqualified bully become President of the United States? Would you still love me then?”

It is a Greek tragedy, and an utterly American one, that the first female presidential candidate nominated by a major party came so close to an empirical win but in the end lost entirely. And what a personal reckoning. “I have come to terms with the fact that a lot of people—millions and millions of people—decided they just didn’t like me,” she writes. Yet the book itself is proof she’s still willing to confront the firing squad. Maybe this time they’ll put down their weapons and listen.

Clinton writes that she plans to stay alive to see the first woman become President. When I read that, I envisioned her at age 80, back on that Inaugural podium in a white pantsuit. But I don’t imagine she’ll be worried about hateful chants. This time, maybe all those women and girls from all those marches will be back to cheer on the first female President as well as the first woman who almost was. □

**Sally Quinn** The Washington journalist and hostess talks about her new memoir *Finding Magic*, her late husband Ben Bradlee and locating the spirit world

**What inspired you to write this book?**

Taking care of Ben was the most spiritual thing I ever did in my life, but at that time I didn't see it that way. A week or two after he died, I thought, I want to do this book. I have to do this book.

**You describe yourself as more of a magical person than a religious person. What is the difference?**

Magic takes you into another realm. Believing in magic is in some ways surrendering or reaching for something that is transcendent, is the divine. Any religion is magic. If you believe that Jesus walked on water, that is magical. Or Mary's virgin birth—in order to accept that, you have to believe it, you have to have some sense of faith.

**What are your greatest spiritual or magical influences?** I write about seeing the scrapbooks from Dachau and how that turned me off religion and turned me off God. I went for a long time not understanding that other experiences that I'd had didn't have anything to do with God but had to do with spirituality. The first time Ben and I made love to each other was just an incredibly spiritual experience. I had never even imagined I would feel that way. The spiritual influence of love: being with Ben, taking care of Ben, and then being with Ben when he died.

**What protections are you wearing on your necklace?** This is Ganesh. This is an evil eye. Oddly, I don't have a cross. My father's buffalo nickel, which was for good luck. This is a heart from my mother that she gave me before she died. This is a labyrinth. Another Ganesh that I got in India, a Fabergé egg with a little evil eye in it, a shell for the pilgrims who walked to Compostela.

**You often talk of discovering these mysterious powers that you have—things like getting power from the moon, putting hexes on people, willing things into being. How have**

**you come to believe these things?**

I believe in psychic powers. I've seen too many people who have them. Do I believe all of it? Some of it I do, because I have empirical evidence that I can predict things, or people I know have, like worrying about my mother and calling her and she is in the bathtub drowning. What was that? I don't want to cultivate it, because it is uncomfortable.

**Do you have a hex out on anyone now, and if so, who?** Thirty-five years ago was the last time I did one. But trust me, all my friends who think it is ridiculous, in the last year, they have begged me to use my powers of hexing.

**On ... ?** On someone who shall be nameless. It comes back at you threefold, and I don't want to go there. I only do good hexes now.

**What would Ben think about President Trump?** Ben's motto in life was, The truth will emerge. Sometimes it takes awhile. I think he would be distressed at what is happening in Washington today, as a citizen and as an American. I feel the same way.

**What would his advice be to journalists covering this presidency?** Go after the story. Go balls out.

**Can the Washington dinner party of yore live again?**

I don't see it. You have to have a sense of camaraderie, you have to have a sense of goodwill. That doesn't exist.

**Do you think you can find love again after your greatest love?** Yes, I do.

There is nothing better than that, nothing more important than that. I can't believe how lucky I was that I found Ben.

—ELIZABETH DIAS

**'The first time Ben and I made love to each other was just an incredibly spiritual experience. I had never even imagined I would feel that way.'**



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FUTURE.

The U.S. needs more renewable energy, a problem felt on Block Island, RI, where residents paid some of the highest electricity prices in the country while burning a million gallons of harmful diesel fuel each year.

Citi provided long-term financing to help Deepwater Wind build the first offshore wind farm in the U.S. – part of Citi's \$100 billion commitment to finance sustainable energy projects. The Block Island Wind Farm could help lower electric bills by up to 40 percent and reduce carbon emissions by 40,000 tons a year, ushering in a new era of American renewables.

For over 200 years, Citi's job has been to believe in people and help make their ideas a reality.

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